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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

FRENCH ARTICLE ALLEGING ASSASSINATION OF POPE JOHN PAUL I

[Editorial Report] Kiev SIL'S'KI VISTI in Ukrainian publishes on 25, 25 and 27 June 1984 on page 3 a three-part, 3,000-word reprint of an article by British writer David Gallop, originally published in PARIS-MATCH, under the headline "sensation Uncovered: The Secret Death of Pope John Paul I." The article alleges complicity by Italian "bourgeois politicians and rightist clerics," the Freemasons, the CIA and "Italian secret services" in the death of Pope John Paul I.

CSO: 1811/71

INTERNATIONAL

BRIEFS

CYPRIOI COMMUNIST IN UZBEKISTAN--(UZTAG)--Agamemnon Stavru, member of the Central Committee of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus and the party's representative on the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, is acquainting himself with the life of Uzbekistan. A. Stavru was received in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. [Excerpts] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 26 Jul 84 p 1]

MOROCCAN COMMUNIST IN UZBEKISTAN--(UZTAG)--Abdalla Habri, member of the Central Committee of the Party for Progress and Socialism of Morocco, is visiting the republic. Abdalla Habri was received in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. [Excerpts] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 26 Jul 84 p 1]

INDIAN YOUTH GROUP IN KIRGHIZIA--(KIRTAG) A Soviet-Indian youth seminar, "On the Contribution of the Youth of the USSR and India to the Cause of Strengthening and Developing Soviet-Indian Friendship and Cooperation in the Struggle for Peace and Against Nuclear War," is being held in our republic from 23 through 27 July. The seminar was organized by the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee and the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations. On 24 July the Indian youth delegation participating in the seminar was received by A. K. Karypkulov, Kirghizian Communist Party Central Committee secretary. D. Rajah, vice president of the All-India Youth Federation, cordially thanked him for the warm reception and for the interesting story about life in Soviet Kirghizia. [Excerpts] [Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 25 Jul 84 p 1]

CSO: 1807/283

NATIONAL

CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE OF CPSU HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE EXAMINED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 6 Jun 84 (signed to press 31 May 84) pp 59-72

[Article by N.N. Maslov, doctor of historical sciences and professor, and V.S. Ovchinnikov, doctor of philosophical sciences and professor, under the rubric "Discussions": "The Historical Experience of the CPSU -- Problems of Research and Practical Application"]

[Text] From the Editors. Discussion of the topic "The Historical Experience of the CPSU" is begun with the publishing of the article by N.N. Maslov and V.S. Ovchinnikov in the pages of the journal. We invite readers to take part in the discussion, keeping in mind the great importance which the CPSU Central Committee attaches to conducting scientific debates which enrich science and enable recommendations for practice to be worked out (see, for example, the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Increasing the Role of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Economics in Working Out Key Questions of the Economic Theory of Developed Socialism," PRAVDA, 24 February 1984).

In the process of its more than 80 years of revolutionary-transforming activity, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, fulfilling the role of pioneer in the development of socialism and communism, has accumulated a wealth of experience in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution and for the defense of its achievements, the creation and improvement of a new society, and leadership of all aspects of its life. This experience has become the property not only of our party and people, but of the entire international worker, communist, and national-liberation movement. It is historically grounded and has found wide reflection in the works of V.I. Lenin, in program documents, in decisions of party congresses, conferences, and plenums of the Central Committee, in the works of prominent public figures of the CPSU and Soviet State, and in the consciousness and labors of communists and all workers of the country.

To one extent or another the historical experience of the CPSU is an object of study of all social sciences, but primarily of party history. The science of party history, guided by the idea of historical continuity and following the

pattern and content of the formative processes, development, and activity of our party, continually keeps in mind the experience it has accumulated in order to arm new generations of communists and Soviet people with it, and by the same token, give them practical assistance in meeting urgent challenges brought forward by life, and to examine current problems from the standpoint of historical perspective and the vital link between the past, present, and future.

Concerning the need of mastering the party's experience and of comprehending existing achievements, contradictions, difficulties, and shortcomings thoroughly, V.I. Lenin wrote: "We have always condemned, and as Marxists we are obliged to condemn, the tactics of living 'from day to day.' Momentary successes are not enough for us. Nor are calculations for the minute or for the day enough for us. We must continually check ourselves, studying the chain of political events in their entirety, their causal links, and their results. By analyzing the mistakes of the past, we will at the same time learn to avoid the mistakes of today and tomorrow."¹

This instruction of Lenin's is especially urgent today. The 26th Party Congress called for focusing efforts on summarizing the CPSU's experience with revolutionary-transforming activity; the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee set forth the need to actualize conclusions from studying historical material.² In order to successfully fulfill the strategic challenge posed by the party to improve the society of developed socialism in a comprehensive and planned manner, existing opportunities and reserves, including the enormous experience accumulated by the CPSU, must be utilized.

The question of further improving the study and summarization of the historical experience of the CPSU, fraternal parties of countries of the socialist community, and the international communist movement is also of great theoretical and practical significance in light of preparations for the new edition of the CPSU Program and in connection with the necessity to steadily increase the efficiency of the party's ideological arsenal under conditions of the aggravation of international tension and intensification of ideological sabotage by anticommunists against real socialism.

"We must significantly activate the collective thought of the party. And this means not just general theoretical thought, but political thought as well. Theory enriched by new experience and experience creatively interpreted in light of Marxist-Leninist theory has always been and is the most important source of our party's power,"³ emphasizes Comrade K.U.Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Taking this into account, it should be recognized that, unfortunately, the level of generalization and presentation of the essence of the historical experience of the CPSU in the works of party sources and representatives of other social sciences lags behind the demands of the time. Researchers face the challenge to increase mastery of theoretical-methodological analysis of the historical experience of the CPSU and to more accurately define the practical content of this concept itself and its correlation with such concepts as the "experience of history," the "experience of the masses," "revolutionary experience," and so forth.

Keeping existing historiography in mind, this article attempts to disclose the scientific content of the concept "historical experience of the CPSU" and the significance of this experience for contemporary activities of the party and historical science, and expresses views on the characteristics of studying it and using it in practical work to improve the developed socialist society. In light of this the authors hope that an optimal understanding of the questions posed will be developed during the collective discussion.

Under the leadership of the Leninist party, the Soviet people have achieved great successes in the development of the economy, the solution of social problems, and ideological work. And, of course, in order to advance further, we must soberly assess where we are and "see our society in its actual dynamics, with all its possibilities and needs,"⁴ in the words of Yu.V. Andropov. A thorough knowledge of the historical experience of the CPSU is necessary in order to obtain an actual picture of the development of Soviet society and reveal the patterns which accelerate or arrest its progress. Its generalization is an urgent scientific task. It necessitates comprehensive analysis of the various sources in which this experience is reflected and the solution of a number of methodological problems.

It should be emphasized that from the standpoint of historical science it is not possible to study contemporary processes of social life without studying its genesis and without revealing "how a certain phenomenon in history originated, what main stages this phenomenon passed through in its development, and what this entity has now become."⁵ In other words, in studying the present the Marxist-Leninist principle of historicism presupposes continually turning to the past, to the stages of development which have already been passed through and experienced, and to historical experience which was accumulated earlier; without doing this no contemporary problems can be correctly understood and solved.⁶ In connection with this, the problem of actualizing party-historical science and developing practical recommendations for the party's activities on the basis of the "lessons of history," to which the founders of Marxist-Leninist science always devoted steady attention, is becoming important. To an equal degree this concerns questions of scientific research on the historical experience of the CPSU as well, so that it does not lose contact with practice and does not slip into abstract theorizing, as occasionally happens.

Lenin's theoretical legacy is of decisive significance in searching for ways and means to develop and improve methods to research the historical experience of the CPSU. In the works of V.I. Lenin, the party's first historian, we find the most valuable and important theoretical and methodological principles on the essence and content of the concept of the "historical experience of the party," its link with the "lessons of history," its role in the practical revolutionary-transforming activity of the proletarian party, the international significance and limits of application by communists of other countries, and the procedure for study and utilization of our knowledge of the past, present, and future in practical work.

The problems of historical experience, extensively studied for the first time by K. Marx and F. Engels, invariably attracted Lenin's attention during all

his theoretical and practical revolutionary activities. "Historical experience," "revolutionary experience," and "lessons of history" -- these concepts were extensively utilized by Lenin in his works of both the pre-October and post-October periods,⁷ taking account of new conditions in the revolutionary struggle.

Lenin repeatedly emphasized the link of Marxism with the revolutionary experience of the workers. In the mass revolutionary movement, Vladimir Il'ich wrote, Karl Marx saw "historical experience of enormous importance. Analyzing this experience, extracting the lessons of tactics from it, and reexamining his own theory on its basis -- that was how Marx posed his own task."⁸

According to Lenin's definition, Marxism is above all a generalization of revolutionary experience. "The greatest liberation movement of the oppressed class in the world and of the most revolutionary class in history," he noted in 1915, "is impossible without revolutionary theory. It is impossible to contrive; it emerges from the totality of revolutionary experience and revolutionary thought of all countries of the world. And such a theory emerged from the second half of the 19th Century. It is called Marxism."⁹ "The study of Marx," wrote Lenin in his work "The State and Revolution," "is a summation of experience illuminated by a deep philosophical outlook and rich knowledge of history."¹⁰

Lenin attached a great deal of significance to the experience of the masses which they acquired in the revolution. He pointed out that only "in the experience of revolutionary movements" do the masses learn how to fight, "acquire experience," muster their efforts, and unite under the leadership of the proletariat.¹¹

Lenin believed that consideration of this experience is one of the components of forming the strategy and tactics of the political struggle of the proletariat and its party. "In all discussions of the contemporary ratio of political forces, the direction of change of this ratio, and so forth," he pointed out, "concrete data on the historical experience rather than abstract 'general reasoning' must be considered."¹²

His statements on the role of historical experience in forming the revolutionary consciousness of the masses and on the importance of the historical experience for successful work by party organizations confirm the great significance which Lenin attached to it both in theory and in practical activities.

However, it must be noted that the development of the concept of "historical experience" unfortunately is still not keeping pace with political and scientific practices, although the need for this is extremely great both for knowledge of social reality and for development of party policy. Certain attempts in our party-history and philosophical research to define the essence, procedures for study, and practical use of historical experience need to be developed and improved further, as literature points out,¹³ and most

likely the inadequate ability of many specialists in CPSU history to extract practical, instructive "lessons of history" and to actualize conclusions of their own research is related to this.

This does not mean, of course, that problems of the historical experience of the CPSU are not all treated in scientific literature. Above all it is presented in generalizing works on party history — the multivolume "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union] and in the textbook "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union] under the editorship of Academician B.N. Ponomarev, as well as in numerous monographs which reveal the various aspects of the party's revolutionary-transforming activity. These works cover the pre-October and post-October experience of the CPSU, its theoretical and practical, strategic and tactical, and domestic and foreign policy aspects as well as intraparty aspects and those related to leadership of the masses. Of course, the degree of previous study of each of the aspects of the experience of the CPSU is not the same. But, while studying it further, we have no right to underestimate the tradition which has developed and the achievements of our predecessors.

The methodological and theoretical aspects of research on the historical experience of the CPSU, the conceptual apparatus related to this field, and the methods for its study, teaching, and practical application are not, as already stated, so fully worked out. Of particular interest in these terms are the works of B.N. Ponomarev,¹⁴ and P.N. Fedoseyev,¹⁵ "round table" materials from the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, and monographs and articles by Yu.A. Krasin, B.M. Leybzon, V.P. Filatov,¹⁶ and other investigators. In most cases these authors consider the historical experience of the CPSU from a general sociological viewpoint, as a system of general and specific patterns of the revolutionary process and as a category of scientific communism.

In the works of V.V. Ivanov, K.I. Suvorov,¹⁷ and several other authors we see a tendency, in the first place, to preserve a close tie between the experience of the CPSU and the context of history, and in the second place, to reveal its timely significance not only for the international revolutionary movement, but also for solving topical problems of refining the society of developed socialism. It seems to us that it is precisely this aspect of the study of the historical experience of the CPSU which is particularly important for the system of general and party education in our country.

In order to approach a comprehensive explanation of the meaning of the concept "historical experience of the CPSU," we must turn to the extensive collection of Lenin's works and solve a number of questions involving the methodology of research on historical experience on the whole.

In contemporary Marxist-Leninist philosophical literature, the term "opyt" [experience] has a number of meanings. In the context of our analysis, it is especially important to understand "experience" as the totality of practically assimilated knowledge and skills.¹⁸ "Experience has an objective meaning dependent on the development of practical and cognitive activities of people while they are transforming the external world and themselves," notes the "Philosophical Encyclopedic Dictionary." "The concept of experience is

related in this way to the category of practice as a result of the people's activities, including the aggregate of skills and knowledge which have developed historically. Accumulation and transfer of experience from generation to generation is a fundamental characteristic of social development. It is objectified in the form of objects and language, and in the values of the culture."¹⁹

Relying on the above-cited and generally accepted characteristics of the term "experience," the meaning of its particular aspects must be distinguished in a methodological sense.

In speaking of historical experience as a real, objectively existing phenomenon of the historical process, it should be kept in mind that it is an extremely important component of the consciousness of the class, the political party, its leadership organs and ideological personnel, and certain individuals and characterizes the subjective factor of social development. Classes, political parties, and other subjects of the historical process incorporate (or do not incorporate) historical experience as the totality of knowledge, skills, and so forth acquired and proven in the process of practical activity. It is an integral part and aspect of their consciousness, spiritual life, daily activity, and so forth, and already by virtue of that is among the objects studied by historical science. The study of actual, objectively developed historical experience is the task of historical research and a necessary component of historians' works -- their books, articles, and brochures. This historical experience already reflected in historians' works differs, of course, from experience existing objectively in the consciousness of the masses, since it includes a definition of the value of this experience and its significance for the activities of the subjects of the historical process.

It is important to emphasize that historical experience, like any experience, represents a reflection in the people's consciousness of objective factors and events of history and of certain actions by historical individuals and the masses, and surely includes an evaluation of the results of these events and actions refracted through the prism of the class interest of the subject, the bearer of the given experience. One and the same event which has occurred in history may and as a rule does provide a foundation for different conclusions by representatives of antagonistic classes and helps them accumulate experience that differs in content.

Studying the historical experience of the CPSU necessitates defining the meaning of the concept of "historical experience" more precisely, beginning with a Leninist analysis of the problem.

Lenin believed it was necessary to differentiate historical experience primarily through its subject: who is actually the bearer of this experience? He wrote about the experience "of all countries, Russia among them," the experience "of all European countries," the experience of all capitalist countries, the experience of our worker movement, the historical experience of autocracy, the historical experience of all revolutions, the experience of the Paris Commune,²⁰ and so forth.

Historical experience should be differentiated by its content as well: what does it actually consist of? This is related to the various aspects and directions of activity of particular subjects of the historical process; if one speaks of the proletarian party, it relates to the basic directions of its activities and policies. Lenin writes about the experience of antimilitarist propaganda, the experience of alliances, agreements, and blocs, the experience of the struggle and organization of the proletarian masses, the experience of the struggle against the kulaks,²¹ and so forth. In its content the experience of the new type of proletarian party is multifaceted and conditioned by its all-embracing real-historical revolutionary-transforming practice; it is integrated into party policies and its strategy and tactics. It can be gradually accumulated during prolonged efforts by the party to perform certain tasks, but it can also form almost instantaneously in a matter of hours and days under the impact of an abruptly changing historical situation or an unexpected turn of events which requires an immediate change of slogans and adaptation of tactics to the new condition of class struggle.

Historical experience is also differentiated by the form of its realization: this may be, on the one hand, scientific ideology and dialectical-materialist worldview, whose most important principles are historicism and party loyalty which demand the study of social phenomena, in the first place, in development and in the context of the actual historical situation, and in the second place, from the class positions of the revolutionary proletariat and from the positions of the interests of real socialism. On the other hand, this form of realization may be the ordinary, daily consciousness of the masses, inconsistent and at times contradictory public opinion, and so forth.

Historical experience is differentiated, ultimately, by the nature of the evaluation of results of historical activity. This may be positive when data is accumulated on optimal ways and methods that lead directly to achievement of the assigned goal and negative when successful performance of the assigned goals requires taking account of mistakes made earlier and correcting them in subsequent activity.

Needless to say, dividing experience into "positive" and "negative" is arbitrary and relative: recognition of the error of certain actions is already positive as one of the factors of this negative experience.

Historical experience is a complex, multilevel phenomenon, only certain aspects of which have as yet been reflected in the works of Soviet specialists. For example, in defining revolutionary historical experience K.I. Suvorov wrote: "It is the generalized practice of class struggle and the ability acquired during such struggle to perform certain tasks of political activity."²²

V.V. Ivanov defines historical experience as a means of theoretical analysis and evaluation of social problems.²³

It seems that the definition of historical experience of the party should synthesize the content of both of these definitions. Then historical experience as a category of knowledge on the whole and of historical science in particular may be considered a generalized and theoretically understood

practice which serves as one of the means of and a condition for objective knowledge and revolutionary transformation of actual reality. "We must," wrote V.I. Lenin in January 1905 in appealing to the revolutionary social-democrats, "sum up, draw conclusions, and glean from the experience of today's history the lessons which will be useful tomorrow, in another place."²⁴ Vladimir Il'ich also said approximately the same thing in another situation in December 1919: "I will permit myself to move the center of gravity in this report not so much to a description of what we have experienced as to those lessons of experience which we receive and must receive for our direct practical activity."²⁵

It is important to consider the links of the historical experience of the CPSU as categories of historical science with objective history, historical cognition, and historical knowledge. The question is whether any historical knowledge is equivalent to historical experience taken in the given sense, and whether this is always true. What are its specifics? It seems that they lie in the link of history with contemporary social practice. In this case historical experience may also be defined as purposefully selected historical knowledge which is important and timely for interpreting, understanding, and performing the practical tasks of the party, the worker movement, and state activity.

But after all, historical experience is directly related to facts and events of the objective historical process. Acquiring historical experience always results from an actual historical situation, while its generalization and interpretation are linked to analysis of this situation.

History, as the memory of a people, also contains in itself its own gigantic experience of the struggle to achieve its goals when the masses, by the trial-and-error method, gradually, step by step, and frequently not realizing it, have worked out and are working out the most optimal methods and means to perform objective historical tasks facing them. On the basis of the interpretation of the experience of the masses, Lenin, the CPSU, and fraternal communist parties creatively developed certain positions of Marxism and its theory and overcame attempts by opportunists to turn Marxism into rigid dogma. "Any people's movement," emphasized Lenin, "takes endlessly diverse forms in continually working out the new, discarding the old, and creating modifications or new combinations of the old and new forms."²⁶ Revealed in this, in particular, is the revolutionary creativity of the masses which continually enriches the historical revolutionary experience of the party. Lenin continually studied and extremely highly valued this experience of the masses. "In the experience of the millions he would search for and find answers to urgent questions of the worker movement."²⁷

"Lessons of history" are an intermediate connecting link between "objective history" and theoretically interpreted historical experience. Lenin often turned to them as well. He considered them to be realization of paths of further practical activity deduced from the actual historical experience of the masses, a realization directly flowing from this experience undergone by the masses, proven and evaluated by them according to the results of the objective historical process. A convincing example of this is Lenin's "Letter to the Workers and Peasants in Connection With the Victory Over Kolchak."²⁸

Five lessons are formulated in it which the workers had to draw from the experience of the struggle against the White Guard counterrevolution headed by the former tsarist admiral, in order to prevent a repetition of the reign of Kolchak. In this work Lenin continually refers to the experience of the masses themselves, recalls the main part of what they underwent, evaluates the class content of this experience, and develops practical recommendations for the activities of the party and the Soviet State. In evaluating the historical experience of the masses and arming them with the "lessons of history," Lenin helped the workers to become convinced of the rightness of the policies of Soviet authority and the Bolshevik Party and to be strengthened in their resolve to go forward on behalf of their own beliefs to revolutionary, military, and labor exploits.

Political slogans advanced by the party, its practical tasks, and its tactics are formulated on the basis of "lessons of history" as well as analysis of the political situation illuminated by the light of Marxist-Leninist theory. "Questions of tactics are questions of the political conduct of the party," Lenin taught. "The particular conduct can and must be substantiated by theory, historical information, analysis of the entire political situation, and so forth."²⁹ Lenin pointed out that in order to determine the party's tasks, it is necessary not only "to consider the actual historical situation," but to derive such tasks from the "previous steps and stages of the movement."³⁰

From among the political tasks of the historical moment, Lenin also frequently determined the paramount political task — the "basic link" in politics, on the basis of singling out the main lesson of the period undergone. It was precisely in this way, as a rule, that Lenin organized the political reports of the Central Committee of the RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)] to the post-October party congresses. The report of the 10th RKP(b) Congress is typical in this regard.³¹

Decisions adopted by the congresses, party conferences, and plenums of its Central Committee are realized in the process of the party's practical political activity in directing the revolutionary-transforming activities of the masses. At the same time the correctness of the decisions adopted is tested and their details are made more precise and adjusted. "It is essential," wrote Lenin, "to test tactical decisions adopted earlier as often as possible on the basis of new political events. Such a test is necessary both theoretically and practically: theoretically, in order to ascertain in fact and in experience whether the decisions adopted are correct and to what extent and which adjustments are compelled by political events occurring after their adoption; and practically, in order to really learn to be guided by these decisions and learn to see them as directives subject to direct and immediate application in practice."³²

As is evident from this Leninist directive, in researching and describing the historical experience of the CPSU it is not sufficient to become acquainted with the decisions adopted and utilize factual material which reflects the process of their implementation. It is essential (and this is extremely important) to organize theoretical and political verification of the efficiency of these decisions according to their results and their agreement

with the demands of the actual-historical situation which in fact developed. In this way, the study of historical experience presupposes comprehensive analysis, excluding formalism, stereotyped thinking, and timid or lazy thought.³³

It should be emphasized that research on negative experience drawn from mistakes, failures, miscalculations, confusion, and defeats³⁴ is of great political and theoretical significance. F. Mering wrote about K. Marx and F. Engels: "They extracted lessons from defeats in order to once again begin preparing for victory with increased energy."³⁵ Lessons deduced from defeats and mistakes put one on guard against repeating mistakes committed and facilitate the search for a more reliable and direct road to the goal for subsequent generations of fighters and fraternal parties. "The fighting party of the leading class is not terrified of mistakes," wrote Lenin in 1917. "Persistence in the mistake and false pride in acknowledging and correcting it would be terrifying."³⁶

On this level identifying the real contradictions and problems of the historical process and boldly and directly pointing out shortcomings and, needless to say, ways to correct them is the most important task in studying historical experience. "Covering unpleasant truth with kind words is most harmful and dangerous for the work of the proletariat and for the work of the laboring masses," wrote V.I. Lenin. "Truth, however bitter it may be, must be looked directly in the face. Policies which do not satisfy this condition are disastrous policies."³⁷

In recent years this Leninist demand has been developed in a number of party documents.³⁸ The June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee directly indicated that one must "not idealize what has been achieved," "proceed from the reality that is, with all its pluses and minuses," insure study of the "non-antagonistic contradictions inherent in mature socialism" and of the struggle "of the new against the old," and analyze not only constructive tendencies but negative ones as well. All this is essential in order to reveal the causes of negative phenomena in our reality and find efficient means to overcome them.³⁹

Historical experience transformed into practice in the next stage of development of society and in another actual-historical situation is converted into the new "lessons of history," new political challenges, new revolutionary practice, and new experience. In this continuous dialectical process old experience steadily enriches the new and is embodied in the further creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. As the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 80th Anniversary of the 2nd RSDRP [Russian Social Democratic Workers Party] Congress" emphasized, it is no accident that one of the distinguishing features of the new type of party is that it "critically analyzes the results of its own revolutionary-transforming activities and policies, continually studies, evaluates, and utilizes experience accumulated by the international communist movement," creatively develops Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and "insures the organic unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice."⁴⁰

The historical experience of the CPSU in the work of developing communism is enriched by the international experience of fraternal parties of countries of the socialist community. The study of historical experience is by no means an end in itself for Marxist-Leninists: they see their own task in using it creatively in order to achieve the goals facing them.

The experience of the CPSU accumulated in the past may be applied in a new situation, taking into account, of course, different conditions and the historical situation. Methods and forms of the struggle to strengthen labor discipline and indoctrinate "self-discipline" used in the first years of Soviet power may be compared with considerable benefit for our work and utilized in the contemporary situation.⁴¹

Experience generated by the practices of party, state, and management work in one of the country's regions may be utilized in precisely the same way by borrowing and disseminating in other krais, oblasts, and republics. Studies of the history of local party organizations, the best of which show the specifics of the activity of one or another oblast, kray, or republic party organization in detail and the distinctiveness of the experience they have accumulated in performing general party tasks under the actual economic, national, and ideological conditions of the given region, may serve this goal.⁴²

By no means does historical experience always suggest a ready-made solution to an urgent problem. Consequently, its utilization is most often accomplished in a more complex way involving the study of methods applied and proven in practice earlier to solve pressing political, social, and economic challenges, in order to deduce from them not so much ready-made prescriptions for practice as valuable methodological and procedural recommendations for a scientifically sound approach to meeting similar challenges in contemporary conditions. Marxist-Leninist methods of practical analysis of the historical, political, and social situation must be incorporated into this way; this analysis must be approached from a scientific standpoint, not just from the point of view of common sense⁴³ and limited personal experience.

The problem of creative application of the experience of the CPSU may be a subject of special discussion by fraternal communist and worker parties. As early as 1920, in the book "Detskaya bolezn' 'levizny' v kommunizme" [The Infantile Disease of "Leftism" in Communism] Lenin had written about this aspect of the utilization of the experience of the CPSU, at that time emphasizing that "blind, imitative, uncritical transference of this experience to other conditions in another situation is the greatest mistake."⁴⁴ The problem of creative application of the experience of fraternal parties in the USSR is also closely connected to the problem of utilization of the experience of the CPSU by fraternal parties.⁴⁵ The 26th CPSU Congress pointed out, among other things, the need for this.

In this way research and the practical utilization of the historical experience of the CPSU is extremely important for socialist and communist development and to insure the continued improvement of the party's leadership and guiding activities. But historical experience is not something frozen; it is continually enriched based on new socioeconomic practices. However, responding to social needs as well as the directives of executive party

organs, the science of party history specially examines certain aspects of the experience of the CPSU which have been inadequately studied earlier, in this way creating the prerequisites to enrich Marxist-Leninist theory and to solve pressing, vital problems more efficiently. Because of this our conceptions of the party's experience are continually expanding and deepening. But it must not be overlooked that in some printed works which reveal actual historical experience, factual accounts and descriptiveness still predominate; by no means is an objective evaluation of the past always given; it is often not shown who the lessons are for; the experience of party organizations is not analyzed; and their authors do not rise to the level of historical generalization. Researchers do not always take account of the actual historical, regional socioeconomic conditions of the origin or application of the given historical experience. Such errors by historians in treating the historical experience of the CPSU are explained, in our opinion, by the methodological level of its scientific interpretation, which is still insufficiently high.

In connection with this it is timely to draw the attention of researchers working in the field of party-history science to the methodological significance of this aspect of the concept of developed socialism which, as a number of authors' works have emphasized, is related to the perception of socialism in its entirety.⁴⁶ The point is that an understanding of the integrity of society or any of its spheres as a criterion to measure its development forms the necessary basis for developing criteria of the value of historical experience as well.

A dialectical approach to evaluating this experience, which presupposes its actual-historical analysis, and a systems approach to determining its place in the historical process and in the vital activity of one or another subject of historical development is a necessary prerequisite for correctly determining the possibility of applying it in practice. Consequently, just mastering contemporary methodology and, particularly, practical methods of historical analysis will make it possible to improve the study of the historical experience of the CPSU. After all it is clear that general scientific methodology by itself does not exhaust all the wealth of the scientific apparatus of the historical researcher who is studying the historical experience of the CPSU as a social reality. It is well-known that every science which searches for objective truth, in addition to general scientific methods of research and methods and borrowings from other sciences, also applies its own specific methods and modes of research. The science of party history is also no exception in this sense. The methods which it uses make it possible to explain accurately and in depth the basic content of the historical experience of the CPSU and to establish the diversity of its manifestation in specific conditions of different regions of the country, the degree of its urgency, and the applicability in practice of party organization work in contemporary conditions. We would like to emphasize that conscious and purposeful utilization of some methods or other⁴⁷ not only attests to the high research sophistication of the scientific worker, but also insures a more efficient search for truth. The Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee has discussed certain aspects of the problem of the "Historical Experience of the CPSU" more than once. For example, in April 1983 a

symposium on theoretical issues of this problem took place there in the department of CPSU History; it promoted understanding of the theory and features of research on the historical experience of the CPSU. In March of this year the discussion of these questions was continued at a methodological seminar of the academy, where academicians M.P. Kim and I.I. Mints, doctors of historical sciences K.V. Gusev, N.I. Kondakova, N.F. Kuz'min, and others presented their views in the report by the department of CPSU history of the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee.

In studying the historical experience of the CPSU, we examine it from the standpoint of a certain real historical situation, give a detailed socioeconomic and ideological description of it, and thoroughly and precisely formulate the basic strategic and tactical tasks the party is attempting to perform, as well as theoretical and practical substantiations of ways, means, and methods to perform them in that situation. This enables us to analyze the historical situation in depth. Without doing this research on historical experience any scientific meaning is lost.

Then the advisability of certain real actions (or forms and means of activity) which have occurred in the party's history is evaluated from the standpoint of their historical results; positive moments of this activity are identified; mistakes and miscalculations made are revealed; ways to have avoided them in the past are analyzed and the possibility of not committing them in the future is explained; and the most direct and efficient ways and means to achieve the goals proposed are determined. This makes it possible to analyze the party's activity and by the same token to scientifically evaluate its actual historical experience.

Finally, the general and the particular contained in the party's strategy and tactics and in the practical solution by it of corresponding problems of one historical stage or another are revealed; and by the same token the international significance of the practical experience of the CPSU for our party, the international impact of the problems under review, and their direct urgency for the practical activity of other communist parties are identified.

Each separate study of the historical experience of the CPSU should be created on the fundamental principles of Marxist-Leninist theory and should contain a disclosure of the practical activity of the proletarian party in actual historical conditions and certainly an indication of the possibility of and expedient methods for using this experience in contemporary conditions.

As in any research, the historian here relies on the works of Lenin, party documents, and works of prominent party activists as well as research literature. Presently we have available numerous monographs and teaching manuals on the economic policies of the CPSU and the Soviet State, social policies, policies in the fields of scientific-technical progress, people's education, strengthening the nation's defense preparedness, and so forth.

Nonetheless, illuminating the fundamental, principled positions of Marxist-Leninist theory, while it is the point of departure for revealing the party's historical experience, does not exhaust its content. During research the creative development by the party of Marxist-Leninist theory in one stage or

another of its activity must be demonstrated as well. "The Marxist-Leninist party cannot fulfill its own role," it was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, "if it does not devote the proper attention to interpreting everything which has occurred, generalizing new phenomena of life, and creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory."⁴⁸

Demonstration of the party's creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory is a most important component of all genuinely scientific works related to the study of the historical experience of the CPSU. However, scientific analysis of actual practical activity not only of the party as a whole but of certain of its organizations at all levels is an integral element of research directed at generalizing and illuminating the historical experience of the CPSU.

In this way the structure of research devoted to the historical experience of the CPSU includes, in our opinion, the following components: a) illumination of the principled, fundamental positions of Marxist-Leninism on one or another question of socialist revolution and socialist development; b) illumination of the party's creative development of these positions of Marxist-Leninist theory as applied to different stages of the revolutionary movement and socialist development based on the historical experience of the CPSU; c) illumination of actual practice, analysis of positive and negative results in the process of realizing CPSU policies, and identification of historical experience which is timely in the contemporary situation.

The question of the stages of socialist development and in connection with this the division into periods of the formation of our party's historical experience is a distinct issue and merits special consideration.

The question of the interrelations among the social sciences is also an important methodological problem inasmuch as the historical experience of the CPSU is examined in CPSU history, philosophy, the theory of scientific communism, the political economy of socialism, and other social sciences, although in different aspects. Being complex in its very nature, the problem of the historical experience of the CPSU undoubtedly also requires a comprehensive approach to its solution and the combined efforts of different branches of knowledge.

"The party and state expect economists, philosophers, historians, sociologists, psychologists, and jurists to work out reliable ways to increase the efficiency of production and research on patterns of the development of the classless structure of society, internationalization of social life, and problems of communist indoctrination," says the decree of the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "Urgent Questions of the Ideological and Mass-Political Work of the Party."⁴⁹

The challenges posed by the June 1983 and April 1984 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade K.U. Chernenko necessitate giving more attention to studying the historical experience of our party, the Soviet State, and the entire Soviet people in the field of socialist development and in realizing the party's Program. In our opinion, in connection with this such questions as the following must be worked out more extensively: Marxist-Leninist interpretation of historical

experience; V.I. Lenin on lessons of history; methodological and procedural aspects of the study of the historical experience of the CPSU; correlation of general historical experience and the experience of the CPSU, and the experience of the CPSU and the experience of fraternal countries of the socialist community; the general and the particular in the experience of the CPSU; and the concept of developed socialism as an instrument of cognition of the party's historical experience. It is also advisable to consider ways and methods to actualize historical experience. Such questions as the historical experience of the CPSU and the party's theoretical activity in the contemporary stage; the historical experience of the CPSU and the present; and ways to utilize the historical experience of the CPSU efficiently in order to improve developed socialism are also of importance for the science of party history.

The problems examined in this article are becoming increasingly urgent in light of the special significance of work to prepare the new edition of the party Program, which General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade K.U. Chernenko discussed in his speech at the 25 April 1984 meeting of the special Commission of the CPSU Central Committee, of which he is chairman.⁵⁰

Generalization and study of the actual experience of the CPSU is an important source of enrichment and development of Marxist-Leninist theory and a condition for increasing its international authority. Accurate understanding and utilization of the Leninist approach to its study is the paramount work of Soviet social scientists. In connection with this, it seems advisable to consider historical experience, which is an organic combination of revolutionary theory and practice, the most important object of research of the social sciences, above all of CPSU history.

FOOTNOTES

1. Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 34, p 257.
2. See "Materialy XXVI s'yezda KPSS" [Materials on the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 145; "Plenum Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 14-15 June 1983 goda. Stenograficheskiy otchet [Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee 14-15 June 1983. Stenographic Report], Moscow, 1983, pp 10-14, 112-113.
3. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 10 aprelya 1984 goda" [Materials on the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee 10 April 1984], Moscow, 1984, p 21.
4. Yu.V. Andropov, "Izbrannye rechi i stat'i" [Collected Speeches and Articles], 2nd edition, Moscow, 1983, p 245.
5. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 39, p 67.
6. For more details on this see: V. Pashuto, "Scientific Historicism and the Community of Muses" in KOMMUNIST, No 5, 1984.

7. See "Spravochnyy tom k Polnomu sobraniyu sochineniy V.I. Lenina" [Reference Volume to Complete Works of V.I. Lenin], Part I, Moscow, 1972, pp 205-206, 558.
8. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 33, p 36.
9. Ibid., Vol 27, p 11.
10. Ibid., Vol 33, p 29.
11. See ibid., Vol 30, p 56.
12. Ibid., Vol 17, p 278.
13. See "Filosofskiye i metodologicheskiye problemy istoricheskogo poznaniya (Obzor sovetskoy literatury za 1971-1981 gg.)" [Philosophical and Methodological Problems of Historical Cognition (A Survey of Soviet Literature from 1971-1981)], Moscow, 1982.
14. See B.N. Ponomarev: "Izbrannoye. Rech'i i stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles], Moscow, 1977; "Real'nyy sotsializm i ego mezhdunarodnoye znachenie" [Real Socialism and Its International Significance], 2nd edition, enlarged, Moscow 1982; "Zhivoye i deystvennoye ucheniye marksizma-leninizma (otvet kritikam)" [The Living and Effective Doctrine of Marxist-Leninism (Response to Critics)], 4th edition, enlarged, Moscow, 1983; and others.
15. See P.N. Fedoseyev: "Marksizm v XX veke. Marks, Engel's, Lenin i sovremennost'" [Marxism in the 20th Century. Marx, Engels, and Lenin in the Present Day], 2nd edition, enlarged, Moscow, 1977; "Dialektika sovremennoy epokhi" [Dialectics of the Contemporary Epoch], 3rd edition, enlarged, Moscow, 1978; and others.
16. See PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, Nos 7-10, 11, 1979; No 3, 1980; Nos 8, 9, 11, 1981; and others. B.M. Leybzon, "Mezhdunarodnoye yedinstvo kommunistov: istoricheskiy opyt, printsipy, problemy" [The International Unity of Communists: Historical Experience, Principles, Problems], Moscow, 1980; Yu.A. Krasin, "Revolutsionnyy protsess sovremennosti. Teoreticheskiye ocherki" [The Revolutionary Process of the Present Day. Theoretical Essays], Moscow, 1981; V.P. Filatov, "Ob obshchem i osobennom v dooktyabr'skom opyte KPSS" [On the General and the Particular in the Pre-October Experience of the CPSU], Moscow, 1983; and others.
17. See K.I. Suvorov, "Vsemirno-istoricheskoye znachenie opyta KPSS" [World-Historical Significance of the Experience of the CPSU], Moscow, 1980; V.V. Ivanov, "Istorizm v leninskoy metodologii nauchnogo issledovaniya" [Historicism in the Leninist Methodology of Scientific Research], Moscow, 1982; and others.
18. See "Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo yazyka" [Dictionary of

- the Contemporary Russian Literary Language], Moscow-Leningrad, 1959, p 386.
19. "Filosofskiy entsiklopedicheskiy slovar'" [Philosophical Encyclopedic Dictionary], Moscow, 1983, pp 462-463.
 20. See Lenin, op. cit., Vol 22, p 64; Vol 20, p 283; Vol 21, p 238; Vol 23, p 46; Vol 4, p 189; Vol 5, p 31; Vol 36, p 196; Vol 31, pp 113, 138, 288; Vol 33, pp 36-45.
 21. See ibid., Vol 17, pp 192, 23; Vol 36, pp 147, 176-177.
 22. K.I. Suvorov, op. cit., pp 6-7.
 23. See V.V. Ivanov, op. cit., pp 105, 173.
 24. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 9, p 208.
 25. Ibid., Vol 39, p 342.
 26. Ibid., Vol 6, p 385.
 27. "Tezisy TsK KPSS 'K 100-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya Vladimira Il'icha Lenina'" [Theses of the CPSU Central Committee on the Occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin], Moscow, 1969, p 4.
 28. See Lenin, op. cit., Vol 39, pp 151-159.
 29. Ibid., Vol 11, p 246.
 30. Ibid., Vol 13, p 312.
 31. See ibid., Vol 43, pp 7-33.
 32. Ibid., Vol 11, pp 133-134.
 33. See "Plenum -- 14-15 June 1983, op. cit., p 112.
 34. We are not examining the causes of mistakes and failures here: they may be not only subjective, but objective and generated by real contradictions and difficulties of the historical process as well -- The Authors.
 35. F. Mering, "Karl Marks. Istoriya ego zhizni" [Karl Marx. The History of His Life], Moscow, 1957, p 219.
 36. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 34, p 263.
 37. Ibid., Vol 32, p 12.
 38. See, for example, "Materialy 26th S'yezda. . .," op. cit., pp 36-37, 42-43, 47, 48, 50, 58, 59, and others; Plenum -- 14-15 June 1983, op. cit., pp 10, 12, 13, 14, 16-17, 41, and others.

39. See *ibid.*, Plenum, pp 12-13.
40. "O 80-letii Vtorogo s'yezda RSDRP. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS 31 marta 1983 goda" [On the 80th Anniversary of the RSDRP Congress. The CPSU Central Committee decree of 31 March 1983], Moscow, 1983, p 4.
41. See, for example, Ye. Kotelenets, "It Begins With Discipline" in PRAVDA, 20 April 1983.
42. On the content of the experience of local party organizations in "Sketches" of their history see: L.M. Spirin, "Teoriya, metodologiya i metodika issledovaniy po istorii KPSS" [Theory, Methodology and Methods of Research on the History of the CPSU], Moscow, 1982, pp 114-133.
43. F. Engels wrote that "human common sense, a very respectable companion within the four walls of its domestic usage, undergoes the most surprising adventures, as soon as it dares to step into the broad area of research (K. Marx, F. Engels, "Cochineniya" [Works], Vol 20, p 21).
44. Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol 41, p 18.
45. See "Materialy XXVI s'yezda," *op. cit.*, p 7.
46. See V.G. Afanas'yev, "Sistemnost' i obshchestvo" [Systems and Society], Moscow, 1980; V.P. Kuz'min, "Printsip sistemnosti v teorii i metodologii K. Marksa" [The Systems Principle in the Theory and Methodology of K. Marx], 2nd edition, Moscow, 1980; V.A. Medvedev, "Developed Socialism as an Entity" in the book "Nauchnoye upravleniye obshchestvom" [Scientific Management of Society], Vypusk 16, Moscow, 1983, pp 3-22.
47. See V.V. Kosolapov, "The Structure of Research Methods in the Science of Party History," in the book "Voprosy metodologii istoriko-partiynoy nauki" [Questions of the Methodology of the Science of Party History], Kiev, 1980; L.M. Spirin, *op. cit.*; N.W. Maslov, "Marksistsko-leninskiye metody istoriko-partiynogo issledovaniya" [Marxist-Leninist Methods of Party History Research], Moscow, 1983; and others.
48. "Materialy XXVI s'yezda," *op. cit.*, p 77.
49. Plenum -- 14-15 June 1983, *op. cit.*, p 191.
50. See K.U. Chernenko, "Vystupleniye na zasedanii Komissii TsK KPSS po podgotovke novoy redaktsii Programmy KPSS 25 aprelya 1984 goda" [Speech at the Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on the Preparation of the New Edition of the CPSU Program on 25 April 1984], Moscow, 1984.

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NATIONAL

VITALITY OF MILITARY THEME IN SOVIET LITERATURE DEFENDED

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Jan 84 p 2

[Article by Literator: "In the Name of the Fatherland"]

[Text] As the years go by the memory of the Great Patriotic War and the bitter losses and victory salvos becomes increasingly sharper. This is not only because of the increased significance of the exploit of those who saved mankind from the brown plague of Hitlerism but also because we live in a restless time fraught with the danger of a global conflagration. "When it becomes a question of the safety of the peoples," said Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko at the recent All-Army Conference of Komsomol Organization Secretaries, "foreign policy and diplomacy can do a great deal but not everything. In the world arena we must also deal with political forces to whom good will is alien and who are deaf to the reasoning of the mind. It is here that the restraining power of our defense potential plays an irreplaceable role. Today it not only guarantees the constructive toil of the Soviet people but universal peace on earth as well."

The defense potential includes not only our military power but the strength of the ideological tempering of the Soviet people and loyalty to the great combat and labor traditions which are our common spiritual wealth. The 40th anniversary of the great victory over fascist Germany is nearing. This noteworthy event is being reflected in literature and, particularly, in the May issues of literary-artistic journals.

Veterans' hearts are always young: these lyrics from a song become self-evident when we study the memoirs of military commanders and front-line veterans and their thoughts on the results and significance of our victory and the new facts of the heroic epic. For example, we cannot remain indifferent when we read a description of the first aerial battles with the fascists on the Dnestr in the journal NASH SOVREMENNİK, which began in its May issue the publication of the memoirs of Aviation Marshal Hero of the Soviet Union I. Pstygo. In the periodical MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, Army General Twice Hero of the Soviet Union A. Beloborodov calls upon the youth to multiply the accomplishments of their fathers and to be proud of the great combat traditions in the article "A Word to the Young." In an article published in the journal DRUZHBA NARODOV, Army General A. Yepishev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, emphasizes that the victory was the result of the triumph of the Leninist national policy and that the internationalist nature of the first state of workers and peasants

in the world decisively affected the outcome of the war. A. Yepishev points out that the works of Soviet writers A. Tolstoy, M. Sholokhov, A. Surkov, I. Erenburg, K. Simonov, A. Korneychuk, P. Brovki, S. Stal'skiy and M. Shaginyan and the Kazakh akyn Dzhambul played a tremendous role in raising our troops in a spirit of love for their homeland.

The warm and heartfelt words of the writers inspired the soldiers to military exploits. However, they themselves created such words in the trenches, under the fire of enemy batteries, gathering materials for newspaper essays and articles, while developing that which subsequently became the base for their works of art. All of this is reflected in the essays on the roads leading to the front by Konstantin Simonov (YUNOST' and LITERATURNNOYE OBOZRENIYE), and Andrey Platonov and Dsevolod Ivanov (MOSKVA). It is very important not to delay but to collect bit by bit that which is scattered among the memories of eyewitnesses, in letters from the front and documents, and to describe the considerable contribution which frontline writers made to victory.

The May issues carry a great variety of materials: facts, testimonies, documents from the chronicles of the Great Patriotic War (MOSKVA), materials on the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Sevastopol (MOLODAYA GVARDIYA) and an essay on navy operations in the Baltic (ZVEZDA). The journal ZNAMYA has started the publication of the essay "The Line of Scientific Defense" by L. Markelova, which describes in a vivid and interesting way the work of the Soviet scientists and the significant contribution they made to the common cause of defeating the enemy. It is thus that, line after line, an impressive panoramic view opens of the nationwide exploit. However, the work on its recreation has not been completed. It is continuing and is promising many more discoveries and findings.

"Military prose" plays a particular role in the progress of the contemporary literary process. As the critics have pointed out, this is a working term and any topic classification is conventional. Nevertheless, the traditions and accomplishments discussed here are clear to all. Let us emphasize that today there is no longer talk of the "tiredness" of this prose, above all because literary facts and events confirm the opposite. Thus, if we consider this year's journal publications alone, we note a number of trends in the development of literature on military-patriotic topics. This applies, above all, to the multiplicity of its genres and problems and the very broad range of writers' inclinations and interests. This also includes the increasingly developing and strengthening influence of facts, of documentary proofs, which has been fully manifested in works such as "War Does Not Have the Face of a Woman" by S. Alekseyevich (OKTYABR', No 2) or "Volga! Volga! This Is Oka" by A. Rodin (ZNAMYA, Nos 2 and 3). Ever new aspects of the tense life in the rear, which required the stress of all moral and physical strength of those who helped the front, are depicted ("Belyye Vody" by N. Gorbachev, MOSKVA, Nos 1, 2; "The Last Colds" by A. Likhanov, YUNOST', No 2). Addressing ourselves to events and characters which set examples of lofty spiritual guidelines makes it possible to raise difficult sociomoral problems as is the case, for example, with the new novel by D. Granin "A Still Noticeable Trace" (NOVYY MIR, No 1). Our literature is increasingly turning to the artistic depiction of life in the modern army (A. Pinchuk, "Once and Forever," NEVA,

No 2). Our critics have already discussed some of these works, including in the pages of this journal, whereas others are still awaiting a specific analysis and evaluation; let us note at this point that the "military topic" remains topical and promising. To a certain extent this is confirmed by the materials published in the May issues of the journals.

Noteworthy in NOVYY MIR is the novel by Ye. Rzhevskaya "Stirred Embers," written in the documentary fiction genre, organically blending document with summation and the publicistic words of the writer with eyewitness testimony and live sketches. Past and present and recollections and thoughts blend completely, clearly revealing the personality of the author who has sifted through her heart human destinies and events.

A great deal has been written about Rzhev but "Stirred Embers" is not an imitation of V. Kondrat'yev or anyone else in describing previously unknown events of the Rzhev underground. Seventeen painful months of the Hitlerite aggression against this ancient Russian city did not break the spirit of the Soviet people who, under incredibly difficult conditions, were able to help one another and, above all, to withstand, to preserve their humaneness and their faith in the triumph of goodness and justice. The following firm statement was no accident: "Why is it that war is dragging us toward this foulness? Is it because of the darkness? Yet in this darkness the unextinguishable glimmering fires of light call upon us. We carefully go back to them through the layer of our daily lives."

"On the Threshold of Eternity" is a polemically heated novella by O. Nosov (ZVEZDA). Here the war is treated less directly--in the few descriptions of the blockade of Leningrad--than indirectly, refracted through a long period of time in the lives of front-line veterans who find themselves accidentally together in a hospital ward. With what results have they come to this "threshold of eternity?" What do they believe in? What are their aspirations? Four veterans are talking "about life" and it becomes clear that they have remained loyal to their frontline brotherhood and the laws of honor and mutual help. The author is obviously sympathetic toward his characters and infects the readers with this sincere sympathy. But here is a question: Are they happy? The attention is increasingly focused on their pains, failures, instabilities, errors and inability to utilize their talents; they have all led unsuccessful lives and, naturally, the fault for this is still the same--the damned war. There is a reason for emphasizing this idea but there also is a certain contraction. Is this why in this novel the former frontline veterans become increasingly limited to their own pains?

V. Kondrat'yev himself turns to the basic problems of life in a small psychologically accurate story entitled "Captain Asin" (ZNAMYA). Essentially, the topic is the same: happiness destroyed by the war and the desire to get one's due, for man has only one life! There is a sensitive description of a moment when the main character hears a whispering voice of weakness: retreat, the war will write everything off! Immediately, however, this is followed by the sobering, "Nothing is that simple, and as to war writing everything off, this is stupidity. It will write nothing off..." It is the moral, the spiritual principle which prevails and an ordinary event grows into a phenomenon. The characters acquire depth and volume. As is always the case in Kondrat'yev's

works, the strictest possible truth is combined with a romantic vision of man and his spirituality in this "damned war."

Poetry on military-patriotic topics is quite extensively carried by all literary-artistic monthlies. This includes the works of R. Gamzatov, V. Bokov, B. Oleynik, K. Vanshenkin, M. Aliger and other noted poetry masters. Many poems on the war have been written also by those who were born after Victory Day but who prove quite convincingly that they have the right to write about something which is just as close to the young. Nevertheless, we must point out that many of the published poems are "average," repeating old discoveries, or even just weak.

Strictness and exigency in selecting works dealing with this sacred and ever important topic of Soviet patriotism, we believe, should become a norm in the work of all editors, including those of literary-artistic journals.

All of these problems cannot be resolved without the close attention of the critics, without literary studies and profound and comprehensive study of the contemporary literary process, considered within the context of general social phenomena. This topic was discussed, in particular, at a round-table meeting sponsored and organized by the journal LITERATURNNOYE OBOZRENIYE jointly with the Military-Political Academy imeni V. I. Lenin (round-table materials on the topic "Literature and Military-Patriotic Upbringing" were published in the May and June journal issues). The meeting was opened by Col Gen Z. Sretin, chief of the Military-Political Academy, who emphasized that "at the present stage the particular attention paid to problems of military-patriotic education is caused by the sharp increase in international tension, the increased aggressiveness of imperialism and the threat of war."

The May issues of the journals published literary criticism surveys as well: A. Shagalov's "Lessons in Courage. Books on Contemporary War Prose" in (MOLODAYA GVARDIYA); A. Rubashkin's "Real Truth (Military Prose: Critic's Thoughts)" in ZVEZDA; Yu. Polyakov's "Heirs. The Military-Patriotic Topic in Youth Poetry" in LITERATURNNOYE OBOZRENIYE; St. Zolottsev's "For the Sake of Life on Earth (The Topic of Defense of the Homeland and Peace in the Works of the Young Generation of Poets)" in ZNAMYA; virtually all journals have published reviews of books on the war.

The forthcoming 40th anniversary of the victory entrusts particular responsibility to the critics, who must increase the attention they pay to works on literary topics.

In concluding this survey, let us cite some lines from the poem by Rasul Gamzatov "Common Bread." A segment of the poem was published in the May issue of the journal (NOVYY MIR):

In the night glimmering cups shed light,
Cradles swim in silence.
Guarding
The saved world
Is our memory of the past war.

NATIONAL

STATISTICAL MATERIALS ON LOCAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS ASSESSED

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[Article by A.A. Prutskiy, doctor of historical sciences, under the rubric "CPSU: Pages of History": "Party Life: Figures and Facts (On Collections of Statistical Materials of Local Party Organizations)"]

[Text] The party considers recording, analyzing, and summarizing statistical materials and qualitative and quantitative changes of the composition of the CPSU and its organizations an important means of ideologically and organizationally strengthening and increasing the fighting effectiveness of all its links.

Statistics makes it possible to better discern the objective trends of development of the CPSU and exercise a more effective influence on formation of the scientific Marxist-Leninist worldview of communists and the social and occupational composition of the party, and on improving the structure of party organizations and placement of communists in the spheres of economic and sociocultural life of the Soviet State. Analyzing statistical materials enables the CPSU to draw scientifically sound political and organizational conclusions aimed at increasing the efficiency of party leadership in conditions of the improved social relations of developed socialism.

Data from statistics is widely used in Central Committee accountability reports at party congresses and conferences and report meetings of local party organizations.

The system and practices of party statistics were designed on the methodological basis of Marxist-Leninism. V.I. Lenin set an example of scientific analysis of general and intraparty statistical data. Materials from statistics were used extensively in the Leninist legacy on the history of the formation of the party and the guidance of its revolutionary struggle as well as the country's state, economic, and sociocultural life after the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Systematic records of party members and publication of statistical data began in 1922 as a result of the All-Russian Party Census conducted on the initiative of V.I. Lenin. Since that time the practice of preparing materials

on party statistics has been firmly established in the life of the CPSU. The department of organizational-party work of the CPSU Central Committee regularly publishes statistical materials "The CPSU in Figures" in the press.

In addition, many party committees of republics, krays, and oblasts publish collections of statistical materials. From 1976-1982 alone, according to our calculations, about 30 such collections were published in a number of republics, krays, and oblasts. They were substantial supplements to publications of statistical data of local party organizations which appeared earlier and were approved by historians and the party aktiv.²

Statistical collections undoubtedly enrich the source base of the science of party history primarily with practical material on numbers and social composition, structure of party organizations, replenishment of party ranks, and training and assignment of its personnel. Without going into a detailed analysis of the content of statistical materials on the history of party organizations published earlier, we attempt to review collections of local party organizations published in recent years, determine their scientific and practical significance, evaluate their compilation from the viewpoint of principles and methods, and offer certain recommendations and suggestions for their further improvement.

A great deal of statistical material, much of it new, revealing various aspects of the life of local party organizations of the CPSU has been concentrated in publications of recent years. In most collections prepared by republic institutes of party history -- branches of the Institute of Marxist-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee,³ and kray and oblast committees of the CPSU,⁴ valuable numerical data is published on the numbers of local party organizations and composition of communists by social position, education, nationality, age, party length of service, assignment in sectors of the national economy, and others.

Materials which characterize the quantitative and qualitative growth of party ranks occupy a central place in collections. The party considers formation of the composition of its own organizations one of the fundamental questions of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of party development. Numerous facts and figures convincingly attest to the fact that the unity and efficiency of the party, its authority among the masses, and recognition of its leading role in the successful performance of the tasks of communist development depend to an enormous extent on the composition of party ranks and the consciousness and discipline of communists.

In connection with changed conditions and the emergence of new challenges, the party has repeatedly refined and enriched its Charter with new statutes; nonetheless the essence of the Leninist principles of membership in the party has always remained constant.

When replenishing its ranks with fresh forces, the party proceeds from the assertion that a sociopolitical and ideological unity and an inviolable union of workers, peasants, and intelligentsia have developed in Soviet society and that the entire Soviet people compose its social base.

Consequently, the CPSU has available a solid base for selecting new replacements for its ranks from those people who have shown themselves to be morally firm and ideologically confirmed builders of communism in production and social life.

Concerned about the growth in party ranks, the CPSU Central Committee has adopted a number of decisions on the activities of republic, oblast, city, and rayon committees of the CPSU and primary party organizations in which the attention of party organs and party organizations is drawn to the need for further improvement of the qualitative composition of communists.⁵

Questions of the replenishment of party ranks, work with young communists, and performance by CPSU members of statutory obligations have begun to be examined at meetings of party committees and meetings of communists in party groups and primary party organizations. The responsibility of communists who recommend new people to the party and demands on those who are becoming party members have been increased. Despite the stricter approach of party organizations to replenishing their ranks, the desire of the leaders of Soviet society to link their fate with the party is growing. Leading representatives of workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia are striving to bear the high status of a communist and be in the vanguard of building the new society. Figures which characterize the replenishment of CPSU ranks in republics and local party organizations serve as convincing evidence of this.

For example, in 1971-1975, 82,905 people were accepted as candidates for party membership in Belorussia and 105,609 people were accepted in 1976-1980⁶ accepted in 1971-1975 and 21,284 in 1975-1979⁷; in the Rostov Oblast party organization 37,770 people were accepted for membership in the party in 1971-1975, while in the next five years (1976-1980) 42,997 people were accepted.⁸

Approximately the same dynamics of growth of party ranks took place in the remaining local party organizations. It is absolutely evident that growth in CPSU ranks will continue. As the 25th Party Congress emphasized, that is the objective trend stemming from patterns of social development under socialism and the increase in the guiding role of the party and its authority.⁹

In recent years the number of members and candidates of all local party organizations has steadily increased. So, for example, the Communist Party of the Ukraine numbered 1,961,408 party members and candidates in 1966; 2,378,789 in 1971; 2,625,808 in 1976; and 2,933,564 in 1981.¹⁰ The Communist Party of Belorussia numbered 343,043 people in 1966; 434,527 in 1971; 506,229 in 1976; and 595,311 in 1981.¹¹ The Communist Party of Kirghizia numbered 91,670 people in 1966; 104,632 in 1971; 109,746 in 1976; and 122,415 in 1980.¹² The Communist Party of Armenia numbered 110,357 people in 1966; 130,353 in 1971; 142,959 in 1976; and 160,437 in 1980.¹³

The numerical composition of party organizations of krays and oblasts which are more developed in the industrial sense, as well as those of industrial centers has increased significantly. Thus, the party organization of the Kuznets Basin -- the largest coal-metallurgical region in the country -- was composed of 188,992 members and candidates for membership in the CPSU in 1976, while in 1980 the figure was 210,197. After the 25th CPSU Congress alone its

ranks increased by 20,823 people, or 11 percent. Today one out of eight of the oblast's laborers is a communist.¹⁴ The Rostov Oblast party organization numbered 277,636 members and candidates for party membership in 1976, while in 1980 the figure was 301,287.¹⁵

Analysis of statistical data on the growth of party ranks of local party organizations, as of the party on the whole, makes it possible to note that among those becoming CPSU members today there are more representatives of the working class and peasantry, and intelligentsia engaged in the sphere of material production than ever before.

So, for example, the annual replenishment of the Moscow Oblast Party Organization by admission into the CPSU totals 11,000-12,000 people. Of them 86 percent work in the sphere of material production; they have proven to be labor leaders and active participants in social life. Two-thirds of them have two or more specialties each. More than half are efficiency workers. Almost all are shock workers of communist labor and have been singled out for various incentives for valiant labor and active social work, while one out of four has been awarded orders and medals. The number of communists in the Oblast's industry increased by 17 percent in the last 10 years, while in the sectors directly related to the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, the number was 3-5 times greater.¹⁶

All this makes it possible to state that most of those accepted as candidates and members of the party are people with an active posture in life and production leaders who participate in social life. The December 1983 Plenum of the Party Central Committee, which called for increased responsibility and high demands from all CPSU members for irreproachable fulfillment of obligations and unconditional performance of the tasks facing them, pointed out the particular importance of the vanguard role of communists in the affairs of labor collectives.

The materials of party statistics clearly and convincingly reflect that by its very nature the CPSU is the highest form of class organization of the proletariat. It has been so since the first day of its birth and so it remains today. This results from the objective position of the working class in society and its leading role in the struggle for the victory of socialist revolution and the formation of developed socialism in our country. In the contemporary stage, having become the political nucleus of the whole Soviet people, the CPSU is not losing its class essence. The working class comprises the basis of party organizations. And this means that the attention the CPSU pays to replenishing its ranks with workers continues fully in our time as well.

Statistics on the social composition of members and candidates for CPSU membership as well as the new replenishment of party organizations of republics, krays, and oblasts show that progressive workers occupy a dominant place in them. In one of the largest party organizations in the country, the Communist Party of the Ukraine, 40.9 percent of the communists were workers in 1971; 42.4 percent in 1976; and 44.1 percent in 1981. Of the total number of people accepted as candidates for CPSU membership in 1971-1975, 56.4 percent were workers, while the figure for 1976-1980 was 57.8 percent.¹⁷ Of those in

the Communist Party of Belorussia, 39.1 percent were workers in 1971; 41.2 percent in 1976; and 43.6 percent in 1981. Among those who became candidates for CPSU membership, 55.3 percent were workers, while in 1976-1980 57.2 percent were workers.¹⁸

Analysis of statistical data published in collections makes it possible to state that the trend to increase party ranks with the best representatives of the working class is of a general nature. This is the chief and typical point, characteristic of all party organizations. As a result the tendency to increase the proportion of workers in the composition of the CPSU on the whole and in its local party organizations has been maintained for many years. The dynamics of the growth of the worker core in the party is reflected in many statistical collections. So, for example, among communists of Armenia 27.4 percent were workers in 1971; 29.4 percent in 1975; and 32.1 percent in 1980.¹⁹ In the Communist Party of Turkmenistan 30.1 percent were workers in 1975, while 31.2 percent were workers in 1978.²⁰ And in the Bashkir Oblast party organization 37.2 percent were workers in 1971; 38.3 percent in 1976; and 41 percent in 1981.²¹

It is notable that most people who entered the ranks of the CPSU in these years were workers in industry, transport, and construction, that is, in sectors of the country's national economy which play a decisive role in the creation of the material-technical base of communism.

Materials of statistical collections show that the ranks of the CPSU are systematically replenished with progressive, politically mature people from among the kolkhoz workers. However, figures on the replenishment of party ranks with fresh forces confirm that the percentage of kolkhoz workers accepted into the party has decreased. Thus, in the party organization in Belorussia 15.9 percent of those accepted as candidates for CPSU membership were kolkhoz workers in 1975 as opposed to 17.2 percent in 1971.²² If the average data of the two past five-year plans is analyzed, the following picture appears: of those accepted as candidates for CPSU membership in 1971-1975, 16.7 percent were kolkhoz workers, while in 1976-1980 only 14.6 percent were.²³ Of those accepted as candidates for CPSU membership in Armenia in 1971, 8.9 percent were peasants by social position, while in 1979 7 percent were.²⁴ In the Ukrainian party organization 16.3 percent of the total number accepted were kolkhoz workers in 1971-1975, and 14.7 percent in 1976-1980.²⁵

This decrease is explained by socioeconomic changes in the country and the growth of the powerful industrial potential not only in the city but in the countryside as well. In particular the number of rural laborers working in sovkhozes has increased. All this leads to a reduction in the number and proportion of kolkhoz members in the total composition of the country's population. So, while the proportion of kolkhoz peasants in the country's population was 31.4 percent in 1959, in 1978 the proportion was 15.1 percent.²⁶

Nonetheless, it is important to note that the absolute number of kolkhoz members in the ranks of the CPSU not only has not decreased but has steadily increased. Together with workers they make up a large proportion of fresh

forces to replenish the party. Thus, 71.8 percent of the candidates for CPSU membership in Belorussia in 1976-1980 were workers and kolkhoz members,²⁷ while 72.5 percent were in the Ukraine²⁸; and 66.8 percent were in Moscow Oblast in 1979-1980.²⁹ Growth in CPSU ranks occurred in approximately the same ratios in the remaining Union republics, krays, and oblasts.

Simultaneously party organizations are conducting work to admit the most worthy representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia -- activists in science, literature, and art, engineering-technical personnel, and other specialists in the national economy -- into the ranks of the CPSU. Statistical materials of local party organizations give convincing evidence of this. So, for example, in the Ukraine in the last 15 years the number of communists who are in the employee category increased by 381,000 people. Of those three-fourths are engineering-technical personnel, agricultural specialists, teachers, instructors in higher and secondary educational institutions, physicians, and others.³⁰

In the Communist Party of the Ukraine, of members and candidates for membership in the CPSU with scholarly degrees, 1,792 were doctors of sciences and 15,389 were candidates of sciences in 1971; while the corresponding figures for 1976 were 2,925 and 24,087; and for 1981, 3,595 and 29,761.³¹ In this way, in 1976-1980 alone, the number of communists with scholarly degrees in the republic rose from 27,012 to 33,356, or by 23.5 percent; as compared with 1966 when it rose by 22,965 people, that is, it more than tripled.³²

A significant increase in party ranks through scientists is observed in Armenia. While in 1971 the number of communists with learned degrees totaled 279 doctors of sciences and 1,879 candidates of sciences, and in 1975 the corresponding figures were 457 and 2,763; in 1980 there were 564 doctors of sciences and 3,168 candidates of sciences.³³ But similar statistics in other collections of local party organizations are absent. This impoverishes their meaning and has a negative effect on the analysis of intraparty work.

Soviet women play a large role in the country's constructive matters. To a great extent our country is indebted to their enormous industriousness and talent for its own achievements and victories in all phases of communist development. Consequently, in accepting women into its ranks, the CPSU expands the party influence on all labor collectives of the production sector and the sphere of social life even more. Party committees and primary party organizations show constant concern for replenishing their ranks in accepting women into the party. Party organizations consider this work an important direction to strengthen the composition of the CPSU on the whole. Analysis of materials published in statistical collections demonstrates that the trend to increase the acceptance of women into CPSU ranks is occurring everywhere. In the Ukraine, for example, of those accepted as candidates for CPSU membership, 37 percent were women in 1976; 38.1 percent in 1977; 38.7 percent in 1978; 39.1 percent in 1979; and 39.6 percent in 1980 were women.³⁴ In Kazakhstan 34.1 percent were women in 1976, and 37 percent in 1980.³⁵ In Belorussia 36.2 percent were women in 1971-1975 and 40.8 percent in 1976-1980.³⁶ In Armenia 32.1 percent were women in 1976; 33.9 percent in 1977; 34.9 percent in 1978; and 35.7 percent in 1979.³⁷ And in Turkmenia 34.2 percent of those accepted as candidates for CPSU membership in 1977 were women.³⁸

The increase in the numbers of female communists and their ratio among those accepted into CPSU ranks is a graphic illustration of their increased activism in our country's production and sociopolitical life. Figures and facts of party statistics show that today female communists are becoming members of the buro's of almost all primary party organizations, gorkoms, obkoms, kraykoms, and central committees of the communist parties of union republics.

In recent years the number of female communists who take an active part in party work has risen substantially. At past report-election meetings of primary party organizations, party organizations elected 1,155,345 women as secretaries and deputy secretaries of primary and shop party organizations, and members of election organs of these party links alone. This is 39,273 more than were elected at report-election meetings in 1981.³⁹

Undoubtedly, systematic treatment in statistical data of female communists' participation in party and sociopolitical work merits the appropriate attention of local management party organs.

A characteristic feature of the growth in CPSU ranks, especially in recent years, is the replenishment of the party by young people, and primarily Komsomol members who have come into the ranks of the Komsomol combat school of political indoctrination and have proven themselves in the production sector and in their studies. Figures published in statistical data collections give convincing evidence of this. In the Communist Party of Armenia in 1971, for example, of those accepted as candidates for CPSU membership 50.7 percent were Komsomol members; 72.9 percent in 1976 and 75.6 percent in 1979 were, also.

⁴⁰ In the Communist Party of Belorussia 54.2 percent were Komsomol members in 1971, while 68.8 percent were in 1977.⁴¹ In the Communist Party of the Ukraine of those accepted as candidates for CPSU membership in 1966-1970, 37.7 percent were Komsomol members; 61.8 percent in 1971-1975; and 73.2 percent in 1976-1980.⁴² In the Dnepropetrovsk, Chernovtsy, Khmel'nitskiy, Vinnitsa, and Volyn Oblast party organizations the ratio of Komsomol members in new replenishments totaled 75-78 percent.⁴³ As a result the stratum of Komsomol members and young people in the growth of party ranks is the highest in recent years. Of those accepted as candidates for CPSU membership in Belorussia in 1971, 46.2 percent were under 25 years of age; 46.8 percent were in 1976; and 49.9 percent were in 1980.⁴⁴ Of those accepted as candidates for CPSU membership in Armenia in 1971, 51.2 percent were from 20 to 30 years of age; 71.4 percent were in 1976; and 71.3 percent were in 1979.⁴⁵

The article "The Convincing Language of Figures" by M.L. Gutin and A.D. Kotykhov drew the attention of the compilers of the collections to the fact that some of the collections do not include data on the number of Komsomol members among those accepted as candidates for party membership.⁴⁶ This omission has not as yet been eliminated.

In attaching great significance to the growth of CPSU ranks through young workers and kolkhoz members engaged in the material production sphere, the party also treats other groups of young people with attentiveness. For example, today twice as many students are being accepted into the party in the Ukraine as in 1971.⁴⁷ Nonetheless in most statistical collections, among them

those of Belorussia, Moldavia, and Armenia, there is no material on the growth of CPSU ranks through student youth, while when there is, it is in the section for "Students and All Others." But singling out the indicators of growth of CPSU ranks through students in a separate column is very important. After all, replenishing the party with the progressive part of the student group strengthens the party stratum in educational institutions, and this, in its turn, helps improve ideological-indoctrination work among young people and strengthens educational discipline.

On the whole, replenishing party ranks with representatives of progressive young people and active Komsomol members who have gone through the school of labor and ideological-political tempering and who have the experience of public activity improves the qualitative composition of party organizations, helps overcome its natural aging, and promotes the continuity that is so much needed in party work.

The publication of information on the national composition of local party organizations and the growth of their ranks through people of the indigenous nationality merits approval. For example, of those accepted into the Communist Party of the Ukraine, 65.6 percent were representatives of the indigenous nationality in 1976,⁴⁸ while 66.1 percent were in 1981.⁴⁹ Notable changes in party replenishment and in the numerical composition of the indigenous nationality occurred in the communist parties of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belorussia, and many republics, krays, and oblasts. Thus, there were 117,846 Armenians in the ranks of the Communist Party of Armenia in 1970, and 149,505 in 1980.⁵⁰ And there were 292,099 Belorussians in the ranks of the Communist Party of Belorussia in 1970, and 380,103 in 1980.⁵¹

Information on the national composition of local party organizations makes it possible to trace the realization of the Leninist principle of internationalism. The growth of ranks in the republics' communist parties through progressive workers of the indigenous nationality is a pattern of its development.

Unfortunately, many statistical collections do not show changes in the national composition of party organizations by years. In certain cases, when this information is given it is incidental in nature.

The growth of the party stratum in all spheres of the country's economy is typical of local party organizations, as of the CPSU on the whole. Today almost three-quarters of the total number of communists work there.⁵² For example, in the past 15 years the number of communists who work in industry in the Ukraine increased by almost 300,000 people. The number of communists engaged in agricultural production increased as well.⁵³

Statistical collections and documents of local party organizations in fact show that party organizations increased numerically and became organizationally stronger, while most communists were concentrated in the decisive areas of the leading sectors of the country's economy.

However, the ratio of communists working in organs of state and economic management and in the administrative apparatus of public organizations

decreased. Figures and facts concerning such large party organizations as those of the Ukraine and Belorussia attest to this. Thus, of those people in organs of state and economic management and in the apparatus of public organizations in the Ukraine, 7.8 percent were members and candidates for CPSU membership in 1971; 7.7 percent in 1976; and 7.6 percent by the beginning of 1981.⁵⁴ Corresponding numbers for Belorussia were 8.9 percent, 8.4 percent, and 8.1 percent.⁵⁵ The process of the decline in the number of communists working in these management organs should be considered a completely natural phenomenon characteristic of the period of developed socialism, when scientific organization of management labor and calculators and computers are being used more and more extensively and superfluous management links are being eliminated.

Materials on the development and organizational management of primary party organizations occupy an important place in collections. Statistical data on many republic, kray, and oblast party organizations show the dynamics of the steady growth of the number of primary party organizations. Within the composition of the party organization in Armenia, for example, 3,963 primary party organizations were functioning in 1966; 4,613 in 1971; 5,001 in 1976; and 5,336 in 1980.⁵⁶

The vigorous development of all sectors of the national economy, the creation of new enterprises and institutions, and the struggle to increase production efficiency, output quality, and high discipline in labor have served as determining factors in expanding the network of primary party organizations and increasing their efficiency in many other republics, krays, oblasts, and rayons of the country as well. Thus, there were 12,471 primary party organizations in Belorussia in 1971; 13,834 in 1976; and 14,651 in 1981.⁵⁷ In Tajikistan there were 3,106 primary party organizations in 1967, and 4,166 in 1974.⁵⁸ In the Bashkir region there were 3,880 primary party organizations in 1966; 4,177 in 1971; 4,395 in 1976; and 4,502 in 1980.⁵⁹

The statistical collections note that in recent years a tendency to strengthen primary shop party organizations and party groups has been identified. Thus, of party organizations in the Ukraine 37. percent numbered less than 15 communists in 1976, while 36.5 percent did in 1981; figures for the corresponding years for those numbering from 15 through 49 communists were 43.7 percent and 42.6 percent, respectively; and for those numbering 50 or more, 13.2 percent and 14.4 percent, respectively.⁶⁰ And, for example, in the Arkhangel Oblast party organization, for those numbering more than 50 communists, the corresponding figures were 10.4 percent and 11.2 percent.⁶¹

As practice shows, the process of strengthening primary party organizations is organically linked to the growth of party ranks as well as structural changes in the management of production, which has been reflected in the creation of production and agroindustrial associations. This leads to a steady decline in the number of small party organizations and an increase in the number of medium-sized and large party organizations. Incidentally, presentation of these changes in statistical collections of party organizations is not receiving the proper exposure.

The fact that valuable material on the executive party organs of local party organizations and on party personnel is included is a strong point of all the collections. There is a tendency to strengthen the composition of local party executives with people who have secondary and higher education and the necessary Marxist-Leninist training as well as experience in party and management work. Figures and facts on the life of many party organizations, in particular those in the Ukraine, give convincing evidence of this. Among secretaries of the republic's primary party organizations, 54 percent had higher education in 1976, and 62.5 percent in 1981; corresponding figures for those with secondary education were 41.9 percent and 34.2 percent. All secretaries of party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms in 1981 had higher education. Among the first secretaries of party obkoms, 96 percent were specialists in industry and agriculture; while among first secretaries of gorkoms and raykoms, 87.1 percent were.⁶²

Collections of party statistics which were published in the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Kazakhstan merit special attention. Figures and facts which reveal the condition and direction of the ideological work of republic party organizations, mass organizations of workers, and the development of socialist competition occupy an important place in them. The statistical collection published in Armenia must be mentioned. In it brief commentaries are given for each section, which enables the reader to become more familiar with the life and activity of the republic's party organizations. Work by the compilers of the collection published in Estonia, which has charts, diagrams, tables, and other reference materials, also merits approval.

Figures and facts being published by local party organizations in collections serve as an important aid to improve forms and methods of intraparty work. At the same time, a great deal of practical material which characterizes different aspects of the life and activity of the component parts of the CPSU is introduced and the source base is expanded when these publications are put into scientific circulation.

The extensive chronological framework of many collections and the inclusion of data beginning with the formation of one party organization or another -- all this makes it possible to trace the emergence of general patterns and trends of development of our party and features of the development of its local organizations for an extended length of time.

In this way, the great scientific significance of the collections under review is beyond question. They will aid in research work and assist party historians and specialists in the field of party development as well as representatives of other social sciences. Workers of party organizations and party committees glean a great deal of very valuable material from them.

Nonetheless, the compilation of collections needs improvement. Data from statistical reports and other sources of party statistics summarized in the tables of the collections are standardized, which helps their comparability. However, in a number of cases compilers depart from the principle of strict consistency and continuity in presenting numerical material. The lack of a uniform approach to examining problems touched upon in collections limits

opportunities for scientific analysis, generalization, and conclusions aimed at increasing the level of party work further.

As is well-known, the selection, assignment, and indoctrination of personnel occupies an important place in the activity of party organizations. "All party committees -- in republics, krays, oblasts, cities, and rayons," the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out, "must have specially trained personnel."⁶³ Recently, the training and retraining of executive party and Soviet employees in the Institute for Improving the Qualifications of Executive Party and Soviet Personnel of the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee and at permanently operating republic, kray, and oblast courses and seminars for unreleased ["neosvobozhdennyye"] secretaries of primary party organizations has become widespread in the country.

In our opinion, it would be advisable for compilers of collections to utilize the experience of party organizations of the Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldavia, Kazakhstan, Estonia, the Bashkir region, and Arkhangel and Rostov Oblasts, who include such statistical materials on questions of ideological work as: the number of students who raise the ideological-theoretical level in the party education system, propaganda personnel in the party and Komsomol education system, and the contingent of lecturers, agitators, and political information workers. The presentation in many collections of such important aspects of the activity of communists as their participation in the work of Soviets of People's Deputies and trade union, Komsomol, and other public organizations merit approval as well.

Improving the preparation of collections further and maintaining their regular publication will enable the life and activity of local party organizations to be most fully and comprehensively demonstrated in conclusive figures.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "The CPSU in Figures," KOMMUNIST, No 15, 1967, pp 89-103; "The CPSU in Figures (On the Occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the RSDRP Congress)," PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 14, 1973, pp 9-26; "The CPSU in Figures," PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 10, 1976, pp 13-23; "The CPSU in Figures (On the Occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution)," PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 21, 1977, pp 20-43; "The CPSU in Figures. Some Data on Party Development in the Period Between the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses," PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 14, 1981, pp 13-26; "Some Data on the Growth in Party Ranks and the Network of Party Organizations (on 1 January 1982)," PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 10, 1982, pp 36-37; "The CPSU in Figures (On the Occasion of the 80th Anniversary of the 2nd RSDRP Congress)," PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 15, 1983, pp 14-32.
2. See M.L. Gutin and A.D. Kotykhov, "The Convincing Language of Figures (On Collections of Statistical Materials of Local Party Organizations)" VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 1, 1976, pp 121-127.

3. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Ukrainy -- boyevoy otryad KPSS" [The Communist Party of the Ukraine -- The Combat Unit of the CPSU], Kiev, 1976 (See also: "Boyevoy otryad KPSS. K 60-letiyu I s'yezda Kompartii Ukrainy" [The Combat Unit of the CPSU. On the Occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine], Kiev, 1978; and "Boyevoy otryad leninskoy partii. Kompartiya Ukraina v tsifrakh" [The Combat Unit of the Leninist Party. The Communist Party of the Ukraine in Figures], Kiev, 1981); "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Belorussii v tsifrakh. 1918-1978" [The Communist Party of Belorussia in Figures. 1918-1978], Minsk, 1978 (see also: "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Belorussii" [The Communist Party of Belorussia], Minsk, 1981); "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Moldavii -- sostavnaya chast' KPSS" [The Communist Party of Moldavia -- A Component Part of the CPSU], Kishinev, 1978; "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Uzbekistana v tsifrakh (Sbornik stat. materialov. 1924-1977)" [The Communist Party of Uzbekistan in Figures (A Collection of Statistical Materials. 1924-1977)], Tashkent, 1979; "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Turkmenistana v tsifrakh" [The Communist Party of Turkmenistan in Figures], Ashkhabad, 1979; "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Armenii v tsifrakh i dokumentakh. 1920-1980" [The Communist Party of Armenia in Figures and Documents. 1920-1980], Yerevan, 1980; "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Kirgizii ot s'yezda k s'yezdy" [The Communist Party of Kirghizia from Congress to Congress], Frunze, 1981; "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Kazakhstana v usloviyakh razvitogo sotsializma. Rost i organizatsionno-politicheskoye ukrepleniye. 1966-1981" [The Communist Party of Kazakhstan in Conditions of Developed Socialism. Growth and Organizational-Political Reinforcement. 1966-1981], Alma-Ata, 1983; "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Estonii v tsifrakh. 1920-1980" [The Communist Party of Estonia in Figures. 1920-1980], Tallinn, 1983.
4. "Krasnodarskaya krayevaya organizatsiya KPSS v tsifrakh. 1917-1978" [The Krasnodar Kray CPSU Organization in Figures. 1917-1978], Krasnodar, 1978; "Kamchatskaya oblastnaya organizatsiya KPSS v tsifrakh. 1923-1978" [The Kamchatka Oblast CPSU Organization in Figures. 1923-1978], Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, 1979; "Belgorodskaya oblastnaya organizatsiya KPSS v tsifrakh. 1917-1980" [The Belgorod Oblast CPSU Organization in Figures. 1917-1980], Belgorod, 1980; "Nekotoryye dannyye k otchety oblastnogo komiteta partii" [Some Data on the Report of the Party Oblast Committee], Kuybyshev, 1980; "Kuzbass ot s'yezda k s'yezdy. K otchetu Kemerovskogo obkoma KPSS" [The Kuznets Basin from Congress to Congress. On the Report of the Kemerovo Obkom of the CPSU], Kemerovo, 1980; "Sovetskaya Chuvashiya. 1976-1980" [Soviet Chuvashia. 1976-1980], Cheboksary, 1980; "Bashkirskaya oblastnaya organizatsiya KPSS v tsifrakh. Kratkiy spravochnik" [The Bashkir Oblast CPSU Organization in Figures. A Short Reference Book], Ufa, 1981; "Po puti sozidaniya" [Along the Road to Creation], Yoshkar-Ola, 1981; "Kostromskaya oblastnaya organizatsiya KPSS v tsifrakh. 1917-1979" [The Kostroma Oblast CPSU Organization in Figures. 1917-1979], Yaroslavl, 1981; "Rostovskaya oblastnaya organizatsiya KPSS v tsifrakh. 1917-1980" [The Rostov Oblast CPSU Organization in Figures. 1917-1980], Rostov-na-Donu, 1981; "Arkhangel'skaya oblastnaya organizatsiya KPSS v tsifrakh. 1917-1981" [The Arkhangelsk Oblast CPSU Organization in Figures. 1917-1981], Arkhangelsk, 1982; "Volgogradskaya

partiynaya organizatsiya KPSS v tsifrakh. 1917-1983" [The Volgograd Party Organization of the CPSU in Figures. 1917-1983], 2nd edition, enlarged, Volgograd, 1983; and others.

5. See the CPSU Central Committee decree (1965) "On Serious Shortcomings in the Work of the Kharkov Oblast Party Organization to Accept into the Party and Indoctrinate Young Communists" in "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s'yezdov, konferentsiy, i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee], Vol 8, Moscow, 1972, pp 511-514; the CPSU Central Committee decree (1972) "On Organizational and Political Work of the Tbilisi Gorkom of the Communist Party of Georgia to Fulfill Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress," *ibid.*, Vol 11, Moscow, 1978, pp 67-74; the CPSU Central Committee decree (1976) "On Progress of Georgia's Party Organization in Fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee Decree on Organizational and Political Work of the Tbilisi Gorkom of the Communist Party of Georgia," *ibid.*, Vol 12, Moscow, 1978, pp 299-306; the CPSU Central Committee decree (1976) "On Work of Kirghizia's Party Organizations to Accept into the Party and Indoctrinate Candidates for CPSU Membership," *ibid.*, Vol 12, pp 361-365; the CPSU Central Committee decree (1981) "On Work of the Samarkand Obkom of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan to Fulfill Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress on Increasing the Vanguard Role of Communists and Developing Their Activism in Production and Social Life," *ibid.*, Vol 14, Moscow, 1982, pp 503-507.
6. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Belorussii," *op. cit.*, p 37.
7. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Armenii. . . ," *op. cit.*, p 55, (author's estimate).
8. See "Rostovskaya oblastnaya. . . ," *op. cit.*, p 83 (author's estimate).
9. See "XXV s'yezd Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza. 24 fevralya-5 marta 1976 goda. Stenograficheskiy otchet" [The 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. 24 February-5 March 1976. Stenographic Report], Vol 1, Moscow, 1976, p 89.
10. See "Bojevoy otryad leninskoy partii. . . ," *op. cit.*, p 16.
11. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Belorussii," *op. cit.*, pp 15-16.
12. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Kirgizii. . . ," *op. cit.*, p 217.
13. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Armenia. . . ," *op. cit.*, p 15.
14. See "Kuzbass ot s'yezda k s'yezdu," *op. cit.*, p 6.
15. See "Rostovskaya oblastnaya. . . ," *op. cit.*, p 70
16. See V.M. Borisenkov, "Trudovoy kollektiv: upravleniye, vospitaniye" [The Labor Collective: Management, Indoctrination], Moscow, 1978, p 19.

17. See "Boyevoy otryad leninskoy partii. . . ," op. cit., pp 19, 39.
18. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Belorussii," op. cit., pp 19, 39.
19. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Armenii. . . ," op. cit., p 20.
20. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Turkmenistana. . . ," op. cit., pp 5, 22.
21. See "Bashkirskaya oblastnaya organizatsiya. . . ," op. cit., p 55.
22. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Belorussii v tsifrakh," op. cit., p 54.
23. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Belorussii," op. cit., p 39.
24. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Armenii. . . ," op. cit., p 56.
25. See "Boyevoy otryad leninskoy partii. . . ," op. cit., p 39.
26. See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g. Statisticheskiy yezhegodnik"
[The USSR Economy in 1978. Statistical Yearbook], Moscow, 1979, p 9.
27. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Belorussii," op. cit., p 39.
28. See "Boyevoy otryad leninskoy partii. . . ," op. cit., p 39.
29. See LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA, 16 January 1981.
30. See KOMMUNIST UKRAINY, No 9, 1981, p 10.
31. See "Boyevoy otryad leninskoy partii. . . ," op. cit., p 27.
32. See KOMMUNIST UKRAINY, No 9, 1981, p 11.
33. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Armenia. . . ," op. cit., p 27.
34. See "Boyevoy otryad leninskoy partii. . . ," op. cit., p 45.
35. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Kazakhstana. . . ," op. cit., p 61.
36. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Belorussii," op. cit., p 41.
37. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Armenii. . . ," op. cit., p 55.
38. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Turkmenistana. . . ," op. cit., p 26.
39. See PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 4, 1983, p 17.
40. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Armenii. . . ," op. cit., p 55.
41. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Belorussii v tsifrakh," op. cit., p 65.
42. See KOMMUNIST UKRAINY, No 9, 1981, p 9.

43. See "Sovershenstvovaniye vnutripartiynoy raboty v usloviyakh razvitogo sotsializma" [Improving Intraparty Work in Conditions of Developed Socialism], Kiev, 1979, pp 85-86.
44. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Belorussii," op. cit., p 43.
45. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Armenii. . . ," op. cit., p 63.
46. See VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 1, 1976, p 125.
47. See "Sovershenstvovaniye vnutripartiynoy raboty. . . ," op. cit., p 86.
48. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Ukrainy — boyevoy. . . ," op. cit., p 25.
49. See "Boyevoy otryad leninskoy partii. . . ," op. cit., p 21.
50. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Armenii. . . ," op. cit., p 41.
51. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Belorussii v tsifrakh," op. cit., pp 102, 104.
52. See PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 14, 1981, p 20.
53. See "Boyevoy otryad leninskoy partii," op. cit., p 55 (author's estimate).
54. See ibid., p 53.
55. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Belorussii," op. cit., p 49.
56. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Armenii. . . ," op. cit., p 69.
57. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Belorussii," op. cit., p 57.
58. See "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Tadzhikistana v tsifrakh" [The Communist Party of Tajikistan in Figures], Dushanbe, 1974, p 22.
59. See "Bashkirskaya oblastnaya organizatsiya. . . ," op. cit., p 74.
60. See "Boyevoy otryad leninskoy partii. . . ," op. cit., p 71.
61. See "Arkhangel'skaya oblastnaya organizatsiya. . . ," op. cit., p 121.
62. See "Boyevoy otryad leninskoy partii. . . ," op. cit., pp 114, 117, 121.

63. See "Plenum Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 14-15 iyunya 1983 goda. Stenograficheskiy otchet" [The CPSU Central Committee Plenum of 14-15 June 1983], Moscow, 1983, p 112.

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NATIONAL

INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF LENIN'S PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS EXAMINED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 5, May 84 (signed to press 26 Apr 84) pp 5 - 20

[Article by L. M. Minayev, doctor of historical sciences, professor: "From the History of V. I. Lenin's Struggle for the Theoretical Foundations of the Party of a New Type"]

[Text] Seventy-five years have passed since the publication of Lenin's book, "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," in May 1909. This work is the continuation of V. I. Lenin's huge theoretical work on the founding and creative development of the Marxist foundations of the proletarian party. It dealt a mighty blow to bourgeois ideology and to opportunists and revisionists who had distorted the essence of Marxism and foisted an idealistic world outlook on the working class, under the guise of the "latest scientific conclusions." Lenin's work is one of the remarkable examples of the Marxist approach to the theoretical struggle. Its defense of the ideological and theoretical foundations of the revolutionary party is inseparable from the task of the further development of Marxism. This prominent work of Lenin's contains ideas and postulates which have become a most valuable achievement of creative Marxism.

The importance of the book, "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," is increasing with the development of both the social and natural sciences, since it represents a vivid example of scientific solution to theoretical and cognitive problems, and the implementation of a link between Marxist philosophy and the achievements of modern natural science; a link which opened new horizons in the study of nature. At the same time, this work of Lenin's is an example of the creative enrichment of dialectical and historical materialism, and of the basis for the indissoluble link between the political policy of Marxism and its philosophical foundations. Owing to this, Lenin thoroughly revealed the Marxist principle of the party-mindedness of philosophy.

A substantial amount of literature by both Soviet and foreign Marxists is devoted to this book of Lenin's. This literature interprets its content and meaning.¹ This article examines certain less researched and at the same time timely questions of the international significance of Lenin's philosophical works, the permanent value of the lessons of his struggle to defend the theoretical foundations of the party of a new type and against opportunism and revisionism, and his conclusions regarding the dialectical materialistic theory of knowledge as the foundations and methodology of revolutionary policy.

The end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries were times of the broad advance of idealism in bourgeois science, related to the intensification of all the contradictions of the capitalist system and of the class struggle in the period of the transition of "free competition" capitalism into imperialism. The objective content of the preceding era (1789-1871) was the progressive bourgeois movement against feudalism. The last third of the 19th Century, according to Lenin's definition, was an era of the total domination and decline of the bourgeoisie; an era of the preparation and gradual gathering of strength of the proletariat. A new arrangement of class forces is taking shape. The impoverishment of the bourgeoisie had begun in the mother countries of capitalism. It became a class which was "descending, declining, internally dead and reactionary."² The proletariat, on the other hand, was moving to the center of the social and political struggle, and Lenin spoke of it as a class which was on the rise in broad, historical perspective.

The change of the historical role of the bourgeoisie was expressed in bourgeois ideology. Motifs of historical pessimism, "consciousness of the sunset" of bourgeois society and decadence, combined however with an apology for capitalism, were becoming typical. Lenin noted the pervasiveness in bourgeois ideological systems of a "rejection of science, lack of any desire for community; and desire to hide from all 'laws' of historical development." There was manifested a bourgeois "sickness of science and sickness of scientific analysis..."³ Many schools of bourgeois thought tried to contrast irrational faith to what they asserted was "bankrupt" reason. The bourgeois rejection of its revolutionary past, the idea of free thought, and the struggle against the spiritual hegemony of the church, and the shift to reactionism on all fronts was reflected in a shift in world outlook to idealism, mysticism and religion, and the slurring of materialism. "Enmity toward materialism and clouds of slander against materialists," wrote Lenin, "all this was the order of the day in civilized and democratic Europe."⁴ Philosophers and sociologists who tried to refute the basic postulates of historical materialism came on the scene. Some declared that chaos would reign in the world, others that dominant would be the "free activeness" of the subject, not governed by any material or social prerequisites (these included Nietzscheanism, the phenomenology of Edmund Husserl, the intuitivism of Henri Bergson, neo-Kantianism, and also the views of those now considered the founders of bourgeois political ideology, the theoreticians of the "elite," G. Moski [phonetic], V. Pareto, etc.). Attacks on the dialectical method intensified. The crisis of bourgeois consciousness was depicted as a crisis of "philosophy in general." Therefore, as Lenin noted, professors slighted Hegel as a "dead dog," and at the same time taught an idealism which was "a thousand times shallower and more banal than Hegelian, and disdainfully shrugged their shoulders over dialectics..."⁵ But the main target of the bourgeois ideological attack was Marxism -- the science of the universal laws of development of nature, society and thought, the laws of the class struggle, and the science of revolution and the creation of socialism and communism.

It was namely at this time that the prominent Austrian physicist, Ernst Mach, put forth a theory which combined the subjective idealism of Bishop Berkeley,

who lived in the 18th Century, with the positivism which was predominant in natural science. His aim was to reconcile these two strains of bourgeois ideology which had been vying for supremacy, and to impart to the "crisis consciousness" of the bourgeoisie the false optimism of "social technology." Groundlessly citing the latest conclusions of physics as confirmation of the "correctness" of their views, Mach's adherents also tried to foist their anti-scientific conception upon the socialist movement.

Bourgeois attempts to deprive the working class of its theoretical weapons -- Marxism as a scientific ideology and the great instrument of consciousness and world transformation -- represented a particular danger to the revolutionary workers' parties and the entire socialist movement.

However, the spread of a world outlook foreign to the proletarian class did not receive the needed rebuff from the main elements of the international socialist movement. Moreover, since the end of the 1890's the socialist organizations in Western Europe and in Russia had been attempting to develop a distorted picture of Marxism, which did not encompass its philosophical foundations. Revisionists and opportunists sought philosophical justifications for their political policies. In striving to destroy the "link" between Marxism and materialist philosophy, they borrowed ideological armor from bourgeois ideology. The ideological crisis in the socialist movement intensified. This was manifested in particular in the adherence of many leading political figures and journalists from the German, Austrian and a number of other Social Democratic parties to positivism in its neo-Kantian, evolutionist (Social Darwinist) and Machist variants.

The ideological weakness of the official leaders of the 2d International had already been shown at the time of the polemic with the Bernsteinists at the turn of the century. It is true that revisionism was rebuffed with regard to several specific problems of social and economic development and a number of questions of the theory of historical materialism. But this did not concern a defense of the philosophical foundations of Marxism. Edward Bernstein's attempt to replace dialectical materialism with the views of one of the secondary ideological schools, neo-Kantianism, and his attacks on dialectics were not rebuffed by the "orthodox" theoreticians of German social democracy.

In February 1901, at the height of the theoretical conflict between the Marxists and Bernsteinists, Karl Kautsky sent a letter to G. V. Plekhanov (who at the time had opposed, from Marxist positions, the neo-Kantianist revision of Marxism), in which he defined his views in his usual indefinite and evasive manner: "Philosophy has never been my strong suit," wrote Kautsky. "I prefer not to write on philosophical questions, but of course I have my philosophical convictions, and they are the same as they always have been: the convictions of my teachers -- dialectical materialism. Only I think that perhaps, in a certain sense, the neo-Kantianists also acknowledge the historical and economic doctrine of Marxism."⁶

With the example set by Kautsky at the 2d International, the thesis of the "philosophical neutrality" of the socialist movement had already begun to take root back at the end of the 1890's. Officially this thesis was proclaimed

later by the so-called Socialist Worker International, which existed in the period between the two world wars, but in practice it was completely legitimized. In large part it was a highly doubtful "neutrality," for many "neutrals," in opposing dialectical materialism as the philosophical foundation of the socialist movement, at the same time secretly favored bourgeois philosophical systems. Typical statements of agreement with Marx, not affirmed, however, even within their own context, the simplification and impoverishment of Marxist ideas under the guise of their defense, and the deceptive introduction of philosophical views harmful to Marxism along with a more or less accurate recounting of certain thoughts of the founders of scientific communism represented Kautsky's peculiar form of revisionism. In short, this was revisionism behind a screen of "orthodoxy." This two-faced position of Kautsky and other "theoreticians" helped to enliven anti-Marxist elements in the parties at the 2d International, which did not hesitate to demand openly the rejection of revolutionary theory.

Beginning in the mid-1890's, cynical mockery of theory began to be heard at the congresses of the SDPG [Social Democratic Party of Germany]. I. Auer [phonetic], one of the party leaders, was especially noteworthy in this respect. Freely boasting of his ignorance at the 1899 Hannover congress, he stated: "In dialectical method and in all such things, as they are called, I am not very knowledgeable. There black is white, white is black, and overall they then develop into some grey mixture which makes one's eyes roll back."⁷ In the SDPG, and not only in it, a kind of "division of labor" arose. The party theoretician wrote occasionally about the "inevitability of socialism," while the practical leader went his own "realistic" way, frequently not considering the writings of the theoreticians. Opportunistic accommodation and class cooperation were called "realistic policy," and were contrasted to the "romanticism" and "utopianism" of the class struggle and to a revolutionary policy.

Among the leaders of social democracy there turned out to be more and more people with an anti-revolutionary mentality and reactionary world outlook. This revelation of Bernstein serves as a vivid illustration. Revealing in his autobiographical works the "secrets of his soul," and explaining the "psychological reasons for his hostility toward dialectics, he wrote: "Mother nature gave me from birth the ability to adapt easily to any situation. If it depended on me, MANKIND...WOULD STILL LONG BE LIVING IN CAVES. I undoubtedly would have found that, if one did not make excessive demands, ONE COULD LIVE QUITE TOLERABLY EVEN IN A CAVE."⁸ In connection with the appearance of such "socialists," the prominent French socialist Paul Lafargue commented bitterly in 1909. Among socialists, he noted, I have numerous "comrades" such as Emile Vandervelde of Belgium and others. They are frequently disturbed by my "insensitive" attacks against the "eternal ideas and principles" of fairness, freedom, patriotism, etc. "If these comrades," he continued, "had lived at the time of the encyclopedists, they would have raged their indignation against Diderot and Voltaire...; they would have had 'Don Quixote' condemned to the flames..."⁹

Theory increasingly irked the "practical" leaders who were guided by "realistic" reformism and "economism." Scientific socialism in their eyes was becoming an obstacle to the development of a "realistic policy" of class

harmony which they were conducting. Rosa Luxemburg, in her book, "Social Reform or Revolution," justifiably commented that the opportunists were hostile to theory because scientific socialism precisely defines limits of practical activity, and clearly indicates the objectives, means and methods of struggle. It does not leave the opportunists' hands free.¹⁰ Therefore, the trade union bureaucrats protested loudly against propaganda by the party of scientific socialism. Thus, at the 1902 Munich SDPG Congress, one of the delegates spoke about the ideologues: "The philosophizing of certain comrades is not echoed by the broad masses...It is simply necessary to lock up all the theoreticians together and let them devour each other."¹¹

V. I. Lenin saw better than the others the danger of what was taking place on the theoretical front of the socialist movement. Back in his speeches of the 1890's and early 20th Century, most of all in the book, "What Is To Be Done?" he inflicted a telling blow to the opportunist understanding of the development of the workers movement, grounded in "spontaneity," and put in the rules the principle that without revolutionary theory there cannot be a revolutionary movement. While theoretical confusion took root and disdain for theory was cultivated in the parties of the 2d International, the party created by Lenin in Russia entered the arena of political activity under the slogan: ONLY A PARTY GUIDED BY AN ADVANCED THEORY CAN FULFILL THE ROLE OF A LEADING FIGHTER.¹² This stipulation was necessarily categorical: "The absence of theory takes away the right of existence from the revolutionary movement and inescapably condemns it, sooner or later, to political destruction."¹³

Lenin's concept of the role of revolutionary theory confirmed the indissoluble link between socialism and science. Socialist convictions must stand at the level of modern science, for revolution itself is a profound, difficult and complex science. "For conscious workers there is no more important task than the task of UNDERSTANDING the movement of their class -- its essence, objectives and tasks, conditions and practical forms."¹⁴ Moreover, it is not merely a matter of understanding. Lenin's concept rejects a contemplative attitude toward Marxist theory as merely to a means of understanding -- understanding as a goal in itself. Theory is a mighty means and expression of the class struggle of the proletariat. The gigantic efforts of Lenin's thinking were directed at solving the problem put forth by Marx: to turn theory into a material force, an engine of revolution, and to merge theoretical work and revolutionary socio-political activity.

One of Lenin's greatest services is his affirmation of the tenets about the DUTY of the party to conduct revolutionary work, about turning the party into a center of the ideological activity of the working class, about the theoretical basis of the party of a new type, and about the indissoluble link between the principles of dialectical materialism and a revolutionary position; the point of view of the class struggle. Lenin also spoke out actively as a philosopher. He reminded people persistently that the fortunes of the theoretical foundations of the movement are in fact resolved in ideological battles, encompassing the "cloudy heights" of philosophy, and that what is involved is a class political struggle.

The program of the proletarian party of a new type was built "on a scientific, and namely a militaristic world outlook."¹⁵ The mastering of Marxism is nothing other than realistically understanding it in terms of its world outlook, and overcoming pre-scientific forms of conceptions about society, empiricism, objectivism, subjectivism and bourgeois and petty bourgeoisie

ideological influences. "The dispute about what is philosophical materialism and why deviations from it are erroneous, dangerous and reactionary is ALWAYS linked 'by a real and vital connection' with the 'Marxist social-political movement.' Otherwise the latter would not be Marxist, nor social-political, nor a movement. Only the limited 'realistic politicians' of reformism or anarchy can deny the 'realism' of this link."¹⁶ Lenin resolutely opposed lack of principles in the sphere of world outlook and in theoretical questions, emphasizing that in the revolutionary era this would be equivalent to ideological bankruptcy. "A firm and well thought out world outlook is required, so that the socialist can master events and not be mastered by events."¹⁷

If people desiring to be proletarian revolutionaries lack a scientific world outlook, if they do not master the revolutionary method, this leads to an inability to assess events accurately, to a departure from a class criterion and unavoidable ideological vacillation, and to adopting decisions not reflecting the interests of the leading class. All of this also opens the door to the spread of anti-proletarian, bourgeois influence.

Lenin's utterances on matters of theory also defined his ideological position within the Marxist camp and the international socialist movement. Its characteristic feature is a militant thrust against revisionism and polemicism directed at the so-called orthodox wing, a number of representatives of which did not understand the very essence of Marxism or the relationship of its elements.

Whereas the Bernsteinists essentially rejected all three components of Marxism and tried to establish a new "unity of theory and practice" -- unity between ideological eclectics in the area of world outlook and social-reformist practice -- many "orthodox" ideologues of the socialist movement placed Marxism "in the service" of some particular science, making it the "sole foundation" of either political economy, scientific socialism or philosophy. Sometimes Marxism was depicted as merely a partial historical or sociological theory. Marxist political economy and Marxist social science in general were treated as "autonomous" sciences, independent from the dialectical materialistic theory of knowledge. There appeared a distorted picture of Marx, either as merely a "reformer" of political economy, or as a political propagandist; a propagator of revolutionary slogans and the general truths of historical materialism. A vulgarized understanding of Marxism crept in, which did not include its philosophical foundation.

* * *

"Marxism is the system of views and teaching of Marx," wrote V. I. Lenin. Characteristic of Marx's views, he emphasized, is a "remarkable consistency and wholeness..., overall they give a modern materialism and a modern scientific socialism as the theory and program of the workers' movement..."¹⁸ Lenin's definition of the theoretical essence of Marxism is inseparable from that of its sources and components -- philosophy, political economy and scientific communism.

Lenin's works express with maximum clarity and definitiveness the unity of all components of the great teaching of Marx, advance the entire theoretical front of Marxism, and contain a tremendous contribution to the development of the materialist understanding of history, scientific communism, political economy, philosophy, political science, and the tactics and strategy of the liberation movement. The conception of the proletarian party of a new type, the scientific theory of imperialism, the theory of the socialist revolution and the construction of a communist society were worked out inseparably with this.

Of exceptional importance were Lenin's conclusions about the indivisibility of Marxism and the inadmissability of giving "preference" to only one of its aspects. "In this philosophy of Marxism, which is cast from one piece of steel," he wrote in the book, 'Materialism and Empiriocriticism,' one must not pull out one main thesis or essential part, neither departing from objective truth, nor falling into the embrace of bourgeois reactionary lying."¹⁹ Defending revolutionary theory, Lenin inquired into the deepest epistemological roots of the opportunist remaking of the leaders of the 2d International. He showed what caused their theoretical helplessness: They did not understand what in Marxism was decisive -- "namely its revolutionary dialectic," which, being a teaching "about the comprehensive and total contradictions of historical development," comprises the "fundamental theoretical foundation of Marxism, and its "living soul."²⁰ Not having mastered the revolutionary dialectic, they emasculated the living soul of Marxism and thus distorted it. A lack of understanding or ignoring of dialectics is not an individual weakness of an ideological or political figure of the workers' movement, which can be compensated for by merits of another sort. Not to understand the dialectic means not to understand Marxism.

Vivid proof of this was the reaction of the opportunists to the appearance of a new philosophical trend, the empiriocriticism of Mach and Richard Avenarius, who laid claim to the last word in philosophy. "Relying" on the epochal and revolutionary discoveries of physics at the turn of the 20th Century, the empiriocriticismists declared with pomp their overthrow of materialism and dialectics. In the works of a number of physicists who followed the opinion of Mach, there appeared statements about the disappearance of matter: "The atom dematerializes and matter disappears (L. Ul'vig [phonetic]); the "general destruction of principles," "everything that is not thought is utter nothingness" (A. Poincare).²¹ What had happened? Lenin answered this question: "A minority of young physicists, under the influence of the tearing down of old theories by the great discoveries of recent years, which showed the relativity of our knowledge especially clearly, as a result of their ignorance of dialectics, slid through relativism to idealism."²² Studying the "revolution in physics," Lenin showed that it confirmed the position of dialectical materialism, and that the dialectical materialistic analysis of questions of natural science can expand the horizons of scientific understanding. At the same time, Lenin protected the great discoveries of the physicists from the attacks of the idealists, who were trying to use them to justify a reactionary world outlook.

Bourgeois sociologists, distorting the evidence of natural science, tried to slant it against Marxism in the sphere of social sciences as well. In this

effort, the general thrust of both Machism and other strains of bourgeois philosophy was an attempt to destroy the dialectical materialistic theory of knowledge. On the pages of social democratic publications, Machist socialists in Russia and Western Europe hastened to declare the obsolescence of materialism along all lines, and its refutation by the "modern theory of cognition," "latest philosophy" ("the latest positivism"), "philosophy of modern natural science," "philosophy of natural science of the 20th Century," etc. Revisionist ideologues tried to use what was happening in natural science as justification for their retreat from true Marxism.

Besides the German group led by Kautsky, there arose at the end of the 19th Century yet another highly active theoretical center of the 2d International -- the Austrian Marxist group. How did they view all these questions? The young stars of the Austrian Marxist school, Max Adler and O. Bauer, returning to the orbit of neo-Kantianism, at times supported individual tenets of Machism. Friedrich Adler also praised Machism. On the pages of the journal DIE NEUE ZEIT, which was considered the leading theoretical organ of international social democracy, he listed "three great discoveries:" the views of Marx and Engels on the history of society; Darwin's theory of evolution; and Mach's application of the "historical method" to the physical sciences. Attempting to bring together Marx and Engels and Machism, he wrote that, having completed the transition from "idea" to "experience" in the course of his philosophical development, they named his view "materialism," understanding by this only "experience." "We can, therefore, state," wrote Friedrich Adler, "that the designations 'materialism' and 'dialectics' of Marx and Engels coincide entirely with the concepts of contemporary natural science: 'experience and development.'²³ This combination, with the after-the-fact reshaping of Marxism into Machism, materialism into "experience," and dialectics into "development," obviously have nothing in common.

Nor was Machism criticized by the more experienced ideologues of the Western European parties of the 2d International. None of the "orthodox" socialists were interested in either the revolution in natural science, or the related philosophical conclusions. To the contrary, their capitulationism was most definitively displayed. Thus, Kautsky went as far as direct flirtation with Machism, to a point of rejection, in essence, of the very existence of a philosophy of Marxism. In 1909, answering the questions of one Russian Social Democrat (who was interested in philosophy in connection, apparently, with the fact that the editors of DIE NEUE ZEIT had invited Machists from Russia to collaborate, and that they had published an article by A. A. Bogdanov, "Ernst Mach and Revolution," for the 70th Anniversary of Mach's birth), Kautsky wrote: "If you ask whether Plekanov studies Marxist philosophy correctly, I must answer that Marx did not proclaim any new philosophy, but the end of all philosophy."²⁵ It is hard to say whether Kautsky truly shared the opinion of a number of past socialists who had taken Marx's criticism of idealistic and vulgar-materialistic philosophy as a rejection of all philosophy, or whether it was his customary hypocrisy, which he displayed every time that he was making a routine step toward opportunism.

Kautsky also gave a characteristic answer to the question: Are Machism and Marxism compatible? "You ask, is Mach a Marxist? That depends on what you mean by Marxism. I understand it not as some philosophy, but as 'experiential

knowledge;" a particular understanding of society. In any case, this understanding is incompatible with any kind of idealistic philosophy, but is not incompatible with Mach's theory of knowledge..."²⁶ These and other statements about the "closeness" or "compatibility" of the views of Marx and Mach were unfounded.

Based on the examples of Kautsky and the Austromarxists, the Russian Machists, and others, Lenin saw that the danger lying in wait for revolutionary theory was hidden in more numerous crevices than it had seemed before. In his 1908 article, "Marxism and Revolution," he noted that he intended to oppose the neo-Kantianist, "new" neo-humanist and neo-Berkelianist Machist revisionists, and the advocates of empiriocriticism and empiriomonism.²⁷ Soon Lenin came to the conclusion that it was necessary to strike back, not through individual articles, but by way of a fundamental scientific work which would demonstrate and put in motion the theoretical and methodological foundations of Marxism, and disclose its gigantic power and vitality.

It was also necessary to prove that revolutionary policy, although having a firm, objective foundation, at the same time cannot be reduced to the laws of natural sciences. Analysis of the newest "revolution in natural science" was exceptionally important. Its conclusions were subjected to distortion and were used by the bourgeois positivists and revisionists to "refute" materialism and the Marxist theory of knowledge.

Lenin draw attention to the especially high requirements of the Bolshevik Party for theoretical work, which were dictated by a number of circumstances, including the situation in Russia after the failure of the revolution of 1905-1907. These were decay, demoralization, divisions, dissension, desertion, and pornography in the place of politics," he remarked. "An intensified attraction to philosophical idealism and mysticism, as the vestments of counterrevolutionary moods, existed."²⁸ Under these conditions, fundamental theoretical, including philosophical, questions became the subject of the sharpest of battles. Machism as a variant of idealism, which was pushed by opportunists, was OBJECTIVELY, Lenin remarked, the weapon and transmitter of reaction.²⁹ Without lessening his day-to-day leadership of the party, Lenin set about to prepare his treatise. He studied the works of the idealist philosophers and also the physicists Helmholtz, Planck, Poincare, Langevin, and many other sources³⁰ -- in all more than 200 books and articles. His book, "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," was already finished in October 1908.

* * *

Many theoreticians of the international social democratic movement clearly were not up to date with the development of contemporary sciences. Lenin was ahead of the scientific development of the day, and this enabled him to undertake the difficult battle on that sector of the philosophical front in which bourgeois philosophy most specialized. This was the sphere of gnosiology [study of knowledge], where positivism (especially Machism) was engaged in especially subtle falsification, imitating materialism and employing several elements of dialectics (for example, relativism), although in a one-sided, distorted form.³¹

In "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," Lenin resolutely opposed the identification of materialist philosophy with the "natural science materialism" of physicists and biologists, or with one or another "model" for interpreting the world, put forth by the natural sciences at a given stage of their development. Marxism, Lenin repeatedly emphasized, encompasses and conclusively explains social contradictions, the history of capitalism and the workers' movement, because it is the theory of dialectical materialism and not some scheme or another which the positivist vogue engendered. "Only Marxist philosophical materialism," he wrote, "showed the proletariat their way out of the spiritual slavery in which until now all exploited classes had vegetated."³² The rejection of philosophical materialism is objectively a rejection of the proletarian class position, a rejection of scientific socialism. The denial of the link between philosophical views, politics and the class struggle reflects the influence of the exploitative classes, which are interested in the ideological protection of their domination and the class character of their politics. Lenin showed that it is impermissible to deny the link between philosophy and politics, and the realization by philosophy of a definite class and political line. He emphasized that it is necessary for philosophy and politics to enrich each other, for a scientific policy which does not rely on, but rejects philosophy is impossible. Therefore, philosophical revisionism, the opportunistic surrender of dialectical materialistic positions in the area of world outlook, is justification for the opportunistic rejection of socialist aims and the basis for political capitulation to the bourgeoisie.

Having convincingly proven the PARTY NATURE of philosophy, Lenin disclosed the CLASS significance of philosophical revisionism. "...Behind the gnosiological scholasticism of empiriocriticism," he wrote, "one cannot help but see the struggle of the parties in philosophy, a struggle which in the final analysis expresses the tendency and ideology of the hostile classes in contemporary society."³³ A philosophical position is a party and class position, even if the fact of the party and class nature of the philosophical position is denied or hushed up. The class role of empiriocriticism, Lenin noted, boils down to subservience to the abettors of religion, the Fideists, in their struggle against materialism in general and historical materialism in particular.

Lenin showed what it was in Machism and related positivist tendencies that was to the taste of those who sought a philosophical foundation for reformism with the aim of encouraging the representatives of the "realistic policy" of class cooperation. Rejecting the role of revolutionary theory, the reformists strutted their "adherence to the facts," but in actuality demonstrated their opportunistic adaptation and subordination to bourgeois ideology and politics. And in Machism, with its agnostic tendency, they found philosophical justification for their moods and actions. Lenin wrote that an agnostic "dwells on this aspect of phenomena, refusing to see anything 'for certain' beyond the bounds of sensations," "declaring that one cannot know anything for certain about their sources, origins, etc."³⁴ According to empiriocriticism and empiriomonism, "only facts have meaning," and facts themselves boil down to sensations, "direct sensory perceptions." Direct objectivity, laying on the surface, is, they would say, "all of reality," its essence. But since this can involve "only facts," the difference between a phenomenon and its essence is erased,³⁵ thus allegedly "removing" the question of dialectical relationships and laws in nature and society.

Thus the Machists, ignoring the entire history of the development of philosophical thought, proposed that we believe that science consists of a description of visual, sensory reality and nothing more. Such a "theory" entirely coincided with the requirements of opportunistic objectivism. It needed such an old (although pretending to be brand new) concept. "Describe the world as it is." This implies rejecting the very possibility of theoretical generalizations, and thus not permitting scientific criticism of the social world and justifying the existing relations.

Machism played into the hands of those "empiricists" in the workers movement who were afraid to go in depth and seek the internal relationship between facts and phenomena, who rejected the scientific explanation of the nature of bourgeois society as a mechanism for political oppression and capitalist exploitation, repudiated the theoretical, political and organizational foundations of the revolutionary movement of the working class, and did not recognize the natural character of the socialist revolution and construction of a new society. Empiricism and the inductive method of such political and ideological figures left their thinking outside of the boundaries of social science. Not delving into the structure of capitalist society, they were not able to tear from its relations the "covers" of commodity and monetary fetishism. As a result, they also remained within the bounds of bourgeois consciousness, ideology and psychology.

Marx, seeming to foresee the appearance of the Machists, devastatingly criticized closely related philosophical views of his time, and emphasized that for the study of social phenomena, "in the analysis of economic forms one cannot use either a microscope or chemical reagents. The power of abstraction must replace both."³⁶ It is not for nothing that the Machists, groundlessly calling themselves "Marx's successors," at the same time found his economic teaching to be "metaphysical" (thus they labelled recognition of objective need); "unbiological" (its preference for the "inherent laws of economics" to the behavior of individuals, which Marxism supposedly ignores); and to contain "transcendental categories" (as they defined everything not directly knowable). But the pseudo-critical twaddle of the Machists (and other opportunists) cannot hide the fact that their "empiricism," which was limited by the framework of everyday life and their little experience, itself sets artificial boundaries and becomes useless and harmful, declaring unknowable that which scientific socialism revealed in the historical process and in capitalist society.

It is impossible to conduct a proletarian class policy while adhering to Machist views and not shifting to proletarian class positions, and while refuting the laws of social development, the discoveries of Marxism and the principles and system of its categories. The result of this is class cooperation, which Lenin defined as bourgeois policy of the working class. The result of the positivist-reformist critique of Marx's analysis was that this society was not all that bad in principle, that it was merely necessary to modify something in it, and that there could be no forms of political action other than those existing and tested by trade unionist and parliamentary-legalistic practice. These limited forms of thinking are typical in our time as well for right wing social democracy, and even more so for bourgeois ideologues.

The leaders of the 2d International lacked even a trace of the correct attitude toward the dialectical materialistic theory of knowledge. The majority of them were noted for not understanding the natural relationship between cognitive work and revolutionary practice -- party policy.

Lenin made a gigantic contribution to the development of the theory of knowledge as the basis and methodology of revolutionary policy. His views were characterized by the organic unity between materialist theory, the dialectical method and living practice. "Dialectics," he wrote in "Philosophical Notebooks," "IS the theory of knowledge...of Marxism..."³⁷ Lenin's activity in this area is a classic example of how necessary it is in scientific research and in the theoretical work of the party to form an "active contemplation" of empirical experience on the basis of revolutionary philosophy. "Thinking, ascending from the concrete to the abstract," noted Lenin, "does not, if it is correct, depart from truth, but approaches it. An abstraction of matter, a law of nature, an abstraction of value, etc., in short, all scientific (correct, serious, not absurd) abstractions reflect nature more deeply, correctly and completely. From active contemplation to abstract thinking, and from it to practice -- this is the dialectical path to acquire knowledge of truth, knowledge of objective reality."³⁸

This Leninist methodology is incompatible with an orientation, on the one hand, on a "purely" empirical approach, which knows nothing about the dialectical method and relates facts based on their level of common "good sense," and, on the other hand, against a so-called "rationalistic" orientation, which essentially relates only abstractions and principles and is interested only in their interrelationships (the products of such "rationalism" are concepts and categories inferred from other concepts and categories, with no heed paid to reality). The Marxist method requires analysis of the sum total of all objective facts. At the same time it guards against helpless eclectic swimming in a sea of facts, and orders thought processes by their determining principles and dominating theoretical and class ideas. Also, it does not permit underestimating empirical knowledge and empirical research, or a presumptuous attitude toward the unique and specific.

Paradoxical as it seems, Machism inspired not only the reformism of "political realism," but also the subjectivist-voluntarist trend. In his book, "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," Lenin showed how ultra-leftism is fed by philosophical idealism in politics, based on the example of A. A. Bogdanov, who headed the Otzovist faction in Russia, which was pushing the party to adventurist actions. Founding a subjectivist revolutionism and confusing the relationship between absolute and relative truth, Bogdanov tried to make relativism the basis for the theory of knowledge, doing so under the seditious flag of a battle against dogmatism, staticism and scholasticism in theory.

However, all this did not save the author of "empiriomonism" either from ideological affinity to the enemies of revolutionary theory -- the "political realists" -- or from idealism of the purest sort. He preached the impossibility of an objective knowledge of the essence of things, although he did so in a veiled manner, employing a pseudodialectical thesis to the effect that such knowledge is "incompatible with the historical relativity of any ideology."³⁹ On the other hand, falling into idealism, he claimed that the physical world is a socially coordinated, socially harmonized, socially organized experience, and

that the basis for objectivity lay "in the sphere of collective experience." "Social reality and social consciousness," wrote Bogdanov, "in the precise meaning of the words, are identical."⁴⁰ The fact that the physical world exists independent of mankind and human experience, and has the power to oppose subjectivist will, was "forgotten" by the founder of empiriomonism. His world is "freed" from objective law and therefore becomes the victim of subjective will. "Laws are abstractions of knowledge..." wrote Bogdanov.⁴¹ The question of the criteria for objective truth also disappeared for Bogdanov. Truth, according to him, is an ideological form, a mere "instrument" of knowledge, an organizing form of human experience. "Truth leads us somewhere in our activity and gives us a bearing in life's struggle."⁴² Thus, "truth leads us somewhere" is not a slip of the tongue. Historical development, according to Bogdanov's notion, may proceed via paths arbitrarily selected by the creative elite.

Lenin revealed the true meaning of Bogdanov's "definition" of truth: "If truth is only an ideological form, this means that there cannot be truth which is independent of a subject, of humanity, for Bogdanov and I know of no ideology other than a human one. If truth is a form of human experience, this means that there can be no truth independent of mankind, there can be no objective truth."⁴³ But despite Machism, with all the historical relativity of the limits to our knowledge approaching objective truth, we are indisputably drawing nearer to it. With all the historical relativity of any ideology, it is indisputable that objective truth and absolute nature is in keeping with any scientific ideology (as opposed, for example, to a religious ideology)."⁴⁴

Lenin's philosophical statements inflicted a devastating defeat upon attempts to subordinate the revolutionary party of the Russian working class to foreign influences of bourgeois ideology and revisionism. Owing to this the party of the Bolsheviks still further strengthened its theoretical basis and world outlook. Along with other works of Lenin, the book "Materialism and Empirio-criticism" opened the way to the victories of Leninism, the creative Marxism of the 20th Century, in the international workers' movement.

Lenin's party successfully solved and solves its historic tasks due to the fact that it "is guided by Marxist-Leninist teaching and creatively develops it, and ensures the organic unity of revolutionary theory and practice..."⁴⁵

* * *

The work "Materialism and Empiriocriticism" is one of lasting importance. It is not without reason that during the last decades numerous discussions about its problems took place, and attacks on it from bourgeois and revisionist ideologues are becoming increasingly sharp. This is caused by the fact that the book contains immutable proof of the great power of Marxist-Leninist science. Life confirms that social development and the growth of scientific knowledge about nature and society not only does not shake the principles stated in the book, but, to the contrary, ever more strengthens them.

Lenin's book is permeated with the idea that the philosophical struggle is at the basis of the class struggle. In the final analysis, it is a struggle between the dialectical-materialistic proletarian and idealistic bourgeois world outlooks, between two opposing concepts of society and the world.

This is also demonstrated namely by various attempts of present-day anti-communists to restrain the inexorable growth of influence of Marxism-Leninism and real socialism. In recent years this has consisted primarily of putting forth "concepts," the authors of which deny the historical and scientific continuity between Marx-Engels and Lenin, attempt to dispute Lenin's contribution, devalue the creative development of Marxism which he accomplished, and undertake the "de-Leninization" of Marxism.

Various trends of bourgeois ideology and revisionism have formed a "united front" against Lenin's philosophical conclusions and his concepts of party-mindedness in world outlook, philosophy and the social sciences. The contemporary anti-Marxist faction which is cloaked under the name of the "neo-Marxists" is engaged in especially noisy activity in this field. Under the guise of the "new word" in philosophy, it is reviving the claim of the empiriocritics from the start of the century to some sort of arbitrator's position between materialism and idealism. Thus, followers of the group, Praxis, claim that materialism and idealism are simply the extreme flanks of philosophy which should be "all-encompassing" and "superior to any of these orientations." Lenin, they assert, should have stayed "neutral" in the "fatal dilemma" between materialism and idealism.⁴⁶

The battle of the anti-Marxists against the principle of party-mindedness in philosophy has the objective of depriving Marxism-Leninism of its qualitative definitiveness as a revolutionary science, and depicting Marxism as a general philosophical concept or system of general principles and methods, not related to definite (class proletarian) content. The opuses of revisionist L. Kolkovskiy serve as a typical example of attempts to separate Marxism from the workers' movement and the struggle for socialism. "The concept of Marxism as a separate school of philosophical views," he wrote, loses its clear outlines in time, and ultimately will disappear altogether...That which is permanent in Marx's research is being assimilated in the natural course of scientific development."⁴⁷ He intensified these claims and accompanied them with falsification of the philosophical views of Engels and Lenin in a "major" (three volume) anti-Marxist work of the 1970's which was widely publicized by the bourgeois press.⁴⁸

Appeals are made to view Marxism as a non-unitary ("not single") ideological current in which all "competing directions...and alternatives secondary to the main direction" are equal, and any ideological scheme, any form of opportunism calling itself "Marxist" is justified as "a reflection of the varied reality and history of the movement." Thus they try to create an impression of a "variegated content" of Marxism, depicting it as shorn of internal unity, so that it supposedly plays a "contradictory historical role."⁵⁰ Numerous contemporary ideological capitulators cover their abandonment of revolutionary positions by discourses about the "necessity to impart to the spiritual life of the party of the working class a "secular" and even "non-ideological" character. Attempts are made to replace concepts of ideology and socialist scientific theory with a deliberately indefinite concept of "culture," which is stuffed with content of any type.

In our time as well, Lenin's firm conclusions resist all these theoretical falsifications, no matter what subtle forms they take: Rejection of the principle of party mindedness, lack of theoretical firmness and consistency, and concessions to bourgeois philosophy always lead to failures in policy. Absence of principles leads to opportunism and various forms of time-serving which signify in practical terms capitulation to the class enemy.

The "neo-Marxists in their attacks on the book, "Materialism and Empirio-criticism," are repeating the turn of the century Machist "argumentation" which was overthrown by Lenin. They claim that supposedly Lenin did not consider that Marxist philosophy is based not on the main question of philosophy, that of the relationship between consciousness and being, but on practice. In the 1960's this claim was put forth by people who were cut off from the practice of the workers' movement and foreign to it, office employees of the Frankfurt school (G. Marcuse, M. Horkheimer, Y. Habermas) and authors of irresponsible journalistic publications of PRAXIS. Today the word "practice" is bent in every possible way by the conveyors of an alien world outlook, who joined in this falsifying motif and are ascribing traits of "passivity" to Lenin's theory of reflection.

Futile are the attempts of these "learned" Pygmies to attribute "passivity" and "contemplativeness" to the views of the greatest revolutionary of world history, whose entire activity was an unsurpassed model of how to combine knowledge of objective reality with conscious action by subjective forces -- the party, class and masses. It was namely Lenin who most vividly demonstrated in theory and in the revolutionary struggle the active, creative nature of Marxism, and revealed with total clarity the importance of human practice, by means of which people are changing nature, objective reality and their social world, and are reshaping themselves and making history.

But for contemporary critics the word "practice" is merely a seemly pseudonym for subjectivist will, and their views are nothing more than a revival of old metaphysical dogmas about "self-knowledge of the historical subject" (this is their "practice") and about history as "total reason." Although pretending to be new, these critics really are simply repeating old attempts, long rejected by leading thinking, to replace the dialectical materialistic theory of knowledge with the reactionary fabrications of subjective idealism.

Bourgeois ideologues hypocritically call for the "enrichment" of Marxism-Leninism with "valuable methodological and theoretical guidelines" existing in the social and physical sciences. In fact, it is a matter of replacing the scientific and theoretical foundation of the Marxist-Leninist parties with a mish-mash of "humanistic existentialism," "Freudian Marxism," "phenomenological Marxism," "neo-Marxism" of the French school, the "concrete utopia" of E. Bloch, the plagiarism and fabrications of K. Korsh, and the uncritical transfer into the sphere of the social sciences as "principles" of one or another technique of natural science.

When, for example, a special anti-communist encyclopedia advises communists to "renew" their theory in the light of the "spirit of the times," and to re-examine the bases of their world outlook and policy, taking into account the emergence of genetics, cybernetics and the theory of relativity,⁵¹ it is concerned, of

course, not about the progress of revolutionary science, but about shoving under the unstable elements of the communist movement the method of one of the particular sciences, instead of the integrated philosophy of Marxism, thus limiting and impoverishing it, and reducing it to the techniques of psychoanalysis, cybernetics, systems analysis, etc.

Soviet science does not need this kind of lecture. Being on the very forefront of world progress, it lay mankind's path to space and successfully mastered the laws controlling atomic energy. It assimilated the philosophical conclusions of Lenin which, as the world renowned Soviet scientist, laureate of the Lenin and Nobel prizes, Academician N. N. Semenov stated: "demonstrated the inexhaustible opportunities embodied in the creative application of Marxist materialistic method, both in science and in all other areas of social life."⁵² Soviet social science rejected the attempts of certain pseudo-philosophers to impose doctrinaire prescriptions on naturalists and declare the principles of relativity and indeterminacy to be idealistic, and it discarded ignorant assessments of cybernetics, etc., which appeared in the past.

Marxism-Leninism is not shut off either from new scientific conclusions or from conclusions deriving from the practical experience of the workers' movement. It even arose on the foundation of that which the philosophy and science of bourgeois society had given, and remade the whole sum of mankind's knowledge and social experience. Leninism became the natural stage in the development of Marxism because it continued this great work and generalized both new social practice and the whole experience of the class struggle, as well as new scientific data, having enriched it with the valuable conclusions of the world outlook of the working class and all progressive forces of mankind. Constantly renewing itself through analysis of reality, Marxist-Leninist science expresses through this renewal its inseparable link with life. Fighting against "eternal truths" and "absolutes," Marxism-Leninism at the same time confirms the great importance of science and confidence in its tremendous possibilities, for Marxism-Leninism itself represents the highest level of knowledge achieved by mankind, and constantly promotes the rise to new heights of science.

True to Lenin's behests, the CPSU is accomplishing its political, organizational and ideological work on the basis of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism. All of its practical activities are illuminated by a theoretical approach. In the decisions of its congresses and plenums, the Central Committee stresses the need for the decisions being made to have maximum scientific justification, and emphasizes the requirement to overcome completely both khvostism [following in the tail of events], fatalism and stagnation, and subjectivism, volunteerism, and incompetence in the determination of political and economic objectives and in their accomplishment.

Guided by Lenin's tenet that "the revolutionary dialectic of Marxist realism" lies at the basis of policy,⁵³ the CPSU permits neither slipping down to narrow empiricism and small-mindedness, nor isolation from the concrete phenomena of reality, the life of society and the masses. The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, which improve the policy of the party, its programs, strategy and tactical arsenal, provide a vivid example of the principle of realism in policy. Speaking about the specific tasks of the current stage of perfection of a developed socialist

society, Comrade K. Y. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, emphasized in his speech to the electorate on 2 March 1984: "The slogan of the day must become: from true thinking, fully armed by experience -- to bold actions!"³⁴ Owing to this Leninist approach, the CPSU is increasing its guiding and directing role and is ever more fully releasing the social activeness of the masses in the struggle for perfection of the society of developed socialism and for peace throughout the world.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Among the works published in recent years, see: Kedrov, B. M. "Kak izuchat' knigu V. I. Lenina 'Materializm i empiriokrititsizm'" [How to Study V. I. Lenin's Book, "Materialism and Empiriocriticism"], Moscow, 1972; Il'yenkov, E. V., "Leninskiya dialektika i metafizika pozitivizma" [Leninist Dialectic and the Metaphysics of Positivism], Moscow, 1980; "Rabota V. I. Lenina 'Materializm i empiriokrititsizm' i sovremennost'" [Lenin's Work, "Materialism and Empiriocriticism" and the Present Day], Moscow, 1980; Gapochka, M. P. "Materializm protiv fideizma" [Materialism Against Fideism], Moscow, 1980; Volodin, A. I. "Boy absolyutno neizbezhen" [Battle is Absolutely Unavoidable], Moscow, 1982, and others.

² Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], vol 26, pp 145-146; see also pp 143-144.

³ Ibid., vol 25, pp 44, 42.

⁴ Ibid., vol 18, p 365.

⁵ Ibid., vol 17, p 19.

⁶ As cited in: "Filosofsko-literaturnoye naslediye G. V. Plekhanova," [The Philosophical and Literary Heritage of G. V. Plekhanov], vol II, Moscow, 1973, p 172.

⁷ Protokoll uber die Verhandlungen des Parteitages der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands, abgehalten zu Hannover vom 9. bis 14. Oktober 1899 [Minutes of the Proceedings of the Hannover Congress of the German Social Democratic Party of 9-14 October 1899], Berlin, 1988, p 208.

⁸ As cited in: Zaydel' G. "Ocherki po istorii Vtorogo Internatsionala" [Outline History of the Second International], London, 1931, p 153.

⁹ Lafargue, P., "Soch." [Works], vol III, Moscow, 1931, p 14-15.

¹⁰ See Luxemburg, R., "Sotsial'naya reforma ili revolyutsiya" [Social Reform or Revolution], Moscow, 1959, pp 82-83.

¹¹ Protokoll uber die Verhandlungen des Parteitages der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands, abgehalten zu Munchen vom 14. bis 20. September 1902 [Minutes of the Proceedings of the Munich Congress of the German Social Democratic Party of 14-20 September 1902], Berlin, pp 143-144.

¹² See, Lenin, V. I., Poln. sobr. soch., vol 6 p 25.

¹³ Ibid., p 379.

- ¹⁴ Ibid., vol 25, p 244; see also vol 4, p 189; vol 36, p 119.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., vol 12, p 145.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., vol 20, pp 127-128.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., vol 10, p 45.
- ¹⁸ Lenin, V. I. "Poln. sobr. soch." vol 26, p 50.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., vol 18, p 346.
- ²⁰ Ibid., vol 45, p 378; vol 20, p 84.
- ²¹ As cited in: Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch." vol 18, pp 273, 267.
- ²² Ibid., p 380.
- ²³ DIE NEUE ZEIT, 1907, set 25, vol 1, No 19, p 622; Marxismus und Naturwissenschaft, [Marxism and Natural Science], Berlin, 1925, pp 151-152.
- ²⁴ See DIE NEUE ZEIT, 1908, set 26, vol 1, No 20, pp 695-700.
- ²⁵ DER KAMPF, 1909, vol 2, No 10, p 452.
- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ See Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", vol 17, p 20.
- ²⁸ Ibid., vol 41, p 10.
- ²⁹ See Ibid., vol 20, p 129.
- ³⁰ For more detail on Lenin's work on the book see: "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza," [History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], vol 2, Moscow, 1966, p 269-290; "Voprosy istorii KPSS" [Questions from the History of the CPSU], 1969, No 5, pp 37-48; and 1975, No 4, pp 120-121.
- ³¹ See Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", vol 18, p 350.
- ³² Ibid., vol 23, p 47.
- ³³ Ibid., vol 18, p 380.
- ³⁴ Ibid., pp 107, 108-109.
- ³⁵ See Mach, Ye., "Die Analyse der Empfindungen und das Verhaltnis des Physischen zum Psychischen" [The Analysis of Perception and Relationship of Physics to Mental Phenomena], Geneva, pp 256-258.
- ³⁶ Marx, K. and Engels, F., "Soch.", vol 23, p 6.
- ³⁷ Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", vol 29, p 321.
- ³⁸ Ibid., pp 152-153.
- ³⁹ As cited in: Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", vol 18, p 138.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid., pp 125, 342.
- ⁴¹ Ibid., p 174.
- ⁴² Ibid., pp 133-134.
- ⁴³ Ibid., p 124.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., p 138.
- ⁴⁵ "O 80-letii Vtorogo s"ezda RSDRP" [On the 80th Anniversary of the Second RSDLP], Decree of the CPSU Central Committee of 31 March 1983, Moscow, 1983, p 4.

⁴⁶ See the Forward by G. Flego to the book by Herbert Marcuse: "Sovjetski marksizam" [Soviet Marxism], Zagreb, 1983, pp xx-xxii.

⁴⁷ Kolakowski, L. "Marxism and Beyond," London, Pall Mall Press, 1969, p 204.

⁴⁸ See Kolakowski, L., "Main Currents of Marxism: Its Rise, Growth and Dissolution," vol 2, Oxford, 1978, pp 32-36.

⁴⁹ Zanardo, A. "Filosofia e socialismo" [Philosophy and Socialism], Rome, 1974, chapter VIII.

⁵⁰ Craxi, B. "Marx of Change," Socialist Affairs, London, 1977, No 4, p 89.

⁵¹ See "Marxism, Communism and Western Society. A Comparative Encyclopedia," vol 5, New York, 1972-1973, p 196.

⁵² Semenov, N. N. "Nauka i obshchestvo" [Science and Society], Moscow, 1981, p 289.

⁵³ Lenin, V. I. "Poln. sobr. soch." vol 11, p 137.

⁵⁴ Chernenko, K. U. "Narod i partiya yediny" [The People and Party United], Speech at a meeting with voters of the Kuibyshev electoral district of Moscow, 2 March 1984, Moscow, 1984, p 12.

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9069

CSO: 1800/451

NATIONAL

SUPREME SOVIET DECREE ON USE OF ARMS BY GUARDS

Moscow VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR in Russian No 26, 27 Jun 84 pp 564-565

[Decree No 457 of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, issued 19 June 1984: "Arrest of Lawbreakers by Personnel of Paramilitary Security and Their Use of Arms in Exceptional Circumstances"]

[Text] With the goal of further strengthening the protection of socialist property, preventing and curbing violations of the law, securing the rights of citizens, and improving the professional discipline of paramilitary security personnel, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium hereby resolves:

1. To stipulate that paramilitary security personnel have the right to take to official paramilitary security premises or to a police station persons who have committed violations of the law connected with trespasses at secured installations or other state or public property for the purposes of curbing violations of the law, establishing the identity of the violators and drawing up a report on the violation.

The senior paramilitary person in charge at the premises of a secured installation may hold under administrative arrest persons taken to official paramilitary security premises for not longer than three hours. A report must be drawn up for each case of arrest.

The procedures for administrative arrest are defined in legislation of the USSR and of the union republics.

2. When there is sufficient evidence that a person has committed a violation of the law connected with a trespass at a secured installation or other state or public property, the senior paramilitary security person in charge at the premises of the secured installation is granted the right to search the person and the effects of that individual, as well as to confiscate his effects and documents.

The procedures for personal search, search of effects and confiscation of effects and documents are defined in legislation of the USSR and of the union republics.

3. Paramilitary personnel in the performance of their official duties to protect secured installations or other state or public property from trespass are granted the right, in exceptional circumstances and as a last resort, to employ arms:

to repel an armed attack on the secured installation when all other steps to curb the attack have proven fruitless;

to repel an attack on a paramilitary security employee in the performance of his official duties, when his life is in immediate danger;

when a person offering armed resistance and who has committed a crime is being arrested on the premises of an installation or adjacent to the place of the crime, when other ways and means have not proved feasible.

4. Every case of the use of arms must be immediately reported to the public prosecutor and a report must be drawn up.

5. It is forbidden to use arms:

when arresting lawbreakers, if bystanders would be endangered; or

in cases of minors or women, except for instances of armed attack on their part.

6. Paramilitary security personnel guilty of exceeding the rights provided by this decree will be held accountable in accordance with legislation in force.

7. This decree applies to the personnel of departmental paramilitary security and to the nondepartmental security of internal affairs agencies.

8. The Supreme Soviet Presidiums of the union republics are instructed to amend the legislation of the union republics in conformity with this decree.

12697

CSO: 1830/566

REGIONAL

BAGIROV PLENUM SPEECH ON SOVIETS, EDUCATION REFORM

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 16 May 84 pp 1-3

/Speech by K. M. Bagirov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan on 15 May 1984: "On the Results of the April (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Tasks of the Republic's Party Organizations Stemming From Its Decisions and the Speech by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the plenum"

/Excerpts/ Comrades!

The April (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has become an important event in the life of the Communist Party and the entire Soviet State. Its decisions and the tasks advanced at it are of landmark importance and open up new horizons for the social and political development of our society.

The plenum examined and approved the proposals by the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee on organizational and other problems connected with the holding of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation. The decision to recommend the election of Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, as chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet was adopted unanimously with great enthusiasm. The Plenum of the Central Committee discussed the problem of the Basic Directions in the General Educational and Vocational School Reform.

The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee adopted the decrees "On the Further Improvement in the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies" and "On Basic Directions in the General Educational and Vocational School Reform," which are important for the development of our society.

At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet held after the Plenum of the Central Committee Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was unanimously elected chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Azerbaijan's workers, like the entire Soviet nation, received this decision with tremendous fervor and warm approval. It is dictated by the supreme interests of the Soviet society and state. The combination of the posts of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet is inseparably connected with the leading role of the CPSU in our society consolidated by the USSR Constitution.

The party and the people know Comrade K. U. Chernenko as a loyal continuer of Lenin's cause, a staunch fighter for peace and a well-tried leader possessing outstanding political and organizational abilities and rich life experience. With all his tireless activity Comrade K. U. Chernenko affirms the Leninist method of work and shows an example of a sensitive and attentive attitude toward people. Using the party organization of our republic as an example, we see how profoundly and interestingly Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko is connected with the masses and actively supports all the new and advanced things produced by the creative initiative of party members and local party organizations.

Party members and workers in Azerbaijan express infinite gratitude to Comrade K. U. Chernenko for his manysided, systematic and fundamental party and state activity in the name of the further flourishing of our socialist homeland, rise in the well-being of the Soviet people and establishment of lasting peace on earth.

The April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the unanimous support of its decisions indicate with new strength that the party is strong in its indissoluble connection with the people.

Comrades! The main points and conclusions in K. U. Chernenko's speech at the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee lent a powerful, new impetus to the creative work of the party and the people, whose basic directions were determined by the 26th party congress and the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. As Konstantin Ustinovich stressed, it is a question of a strategy of movement toward communism that has nothing in common with sluggishness in actions, or with skipping over historically necessary stages in development. Along the path to the supreme goals of the party we still have to solve many major and complex problems, which in their origin and nature pertain to the first phase of the communist system. Strictly speaking, the main content of the extensive and stepped-up work on improvement in developed socialism, in which, as the Plenum of the Central Committee has determined, soviets of people's deputies of all levels are to take the most active part, now lies in this.

Defining the essence of the Soviet regime, V. I. Lenin said that soviets "are powers open to all, making everything visible to the masses, are accessible to the masses, proceeding directly from the masses, and are direct and immediate organs of the popular masses and their will."

In our republic there are 1,348 local soviets of people's deputies and more than 50,000 elected popular representatives exercise their powers in them. A total of 450 people have been elected to Azerbaijan's supreme organ of state authority. Workers and kolkhoz members comprise 67 percent in local soviets and almost 51 percent in the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet. Workers in the most diverse occupations, party members, nonparty men and women and representatives of many nations and nationalities living in the republic have been elected to soviets. More than 10,000 people work in local soviets and their executive and administrative organs.

As noted at the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the vast potential of soviets of people's deputies has not yet been realized sufficiently. The task of ensuring the further intensification of their role in economic and cultural construction, in the improvement in the efficiency and quality of labor and in the satisfaction of workers' needs was set. The plenum demanded that soviets increase the efficiency of control over the work of management organs. "Our economy," Comrade K. U. Chernenko said, "will greatly benefit if soviets make it a rule to exactly and objectively evaluate the work of economic managers of all levels."

Evaluating positively what has been attained, it is necessary to note that not all available potentials are fully utilized by us and that it has not been possible to ensure a high-level organization, an efficient pace and work without disruptions and omissions everywhere.

The Buro of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan demanded that oblast, city and rayon party committees, ministries, departments and Soviet, economic and public organizations draw the appropriate conclusions from the results of work during the first quarter, more profoundly investigate the activity of every enterprise, more strictly evaluate its results, concentrate their attention on pulling up lagging sections and do everything that was necessary for an unconditional fulfillment of the plans and socialist obligations of 1984 and the entire 11th Five-Year Plan.

The organizing role of soviets of people's deputies should be more fully manifested in the republic's economic and social life. However, some local organs of state authority weakly deal with these problems and have not established proper control over the realization of plans and socialist obligations and over the work of enterprises and organizations in industry, agriculture, construction, transport, trade and the domestic and service sphere and public education and health institutions.

We often encounter the fact that soviets get away from the solution of difficult and acute problems. What are the reasons for this? The reasons, comrades, are that the deep-rooted method of work--expectation of so-called special "directives"--is still viable. What, the question arises, prevents, for example, the Baku, Kirovabad, Ali-Bayramly and other city soviets from ensuring the fulfillment of planned assignments by enterprises under their direct subordination? The plenum has the right to demand that soviets put an end to such an attitude toward the state of affairs in subordinate organizations.

Soviets should concentrate their attention on the key problems of the further development of the republic's economy, wage a persistent fight for an improvement in the efficiency of production and in the quality of output, ensure a fuller combination of territorial and sectorial principles in management and wage an effective fight for the saving of material, power, labor and financial resources. We expect a more active participation in this important matter from the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Finance, the State Bank, the State Committee on Prices, the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply and other economic services in the republic.

Improvement in the population's food supply and increase in the production and improvement in the quality of consumer goods are some of the important directions in the activity of soviets. There is a vast field of activity here, beginning from rural, settlement and rayon soviets of people's deputies and their executive and administrative organs. It is necessary to more profoundly study people's needs and requirements and to more fully utilize the right granted by soviets to enlist enterprises in the production of consumer goods and to unify their efforts regardless of departmental affiliation.

The party attaches paramount importance to the participation of soviets in the realization of the Food Program and in the population's provision with agricultural products. In connection with the establishment of councils of rayon agroindustrial associations the possibilities of an active effect of local authorities on the solution of these urgent problems have increased considerably. Many soviets have accumulated good experience in this and concentrate their efforts on an unconditional fulfillment and overfulfillment of plans and socialist obligations by every sovkhoz and kolkhoz.

At the same time, it must be stated frankly that not all soviets work with a high return. For example, let us take such an important sector of agriculture as animal husbandry. In 1983 every second farm in Vartashenskiy, Kyurdamirskiy, Lerikskiy and Tauzskiy rayons and almost two-thirds of the farms in Imishlinskiy and Kubinskiy rayons did not cope with the plans for livestock and poultry procurement. However, the reasons for the existing situation were not analyzed and did not become the object of a special examination at the sessions and meetings of executive committees of soviets of people's deputies. But this ought to be done!

Rayon agroindustrial associations require the closest attention and maximum help on the part of soviets. As yet many of them timidly utilize their rights and possibilities, at times act with methods not characteristic of rayon agroindustrial associations and often repeat the methods of abolished administrations of agriculture.

Soviets must also pay proper attention to the development of subsidiary farms of industrial enterprises. One thing must be understood: Not providing enterprises with the necessary land, it is impossible to expect an increase in livestock products from subsidiary farms. The Republic Commission on Problems of the Agroindustrial Complex must urgently examine and solve this problem.

Soviets must be vitally interested in the development of the private subsidiary farms of rural residents and know what they obtain from their plot, what they sell to the state and how actively every rural yard participates in the procurement of output. All these problems should be in the field of vision of every soviet.

The April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee paid much attention to the problem of reduction in the administrative and managerial personnel. A stable tendency toward lowering its proportion in the total number of workers and employees has been observed in the republic in recent years. In 3 years the size of the managerial personnel has decreased.

At the same time, some ministries and departments, instead of a more efficient utilization of existing administrative personnel, follow the path of its increase.

K. U. Chernenko noted that work on reducing administrative personnel should be done not only at lower and medium-level stages of management, but also at its top stages. Konstantin Ustinovich said that, whether someone liked this or not, this was the need.

The role of soviets in the fight for the fulfillment of the plans for the construction of housing and projects for social and cultural purposes, improvement in the work of the service sphere and a fuller satisfaction of the multifaceted needs of the Soviet people has risen as never before at the present stage of economic and cultural construction. In this most important area of people's life soviets should act as demanding and zealous managers in the true sense of the word. They are called upon to ensure the utilization of the allocated funds, to see to it that the quality of construction-installation and finishing work is high and strive for the development of completed urban construction complexes.

Unfortunately, in practice we often encounter cases of nonfulfillment of plans and lack of attention to workers' needs and requirements.

To take care of and preserve available housing is no less important a task. Meanwhile, we encounter cases of a wasteful attitude toward this common property and squandering of funds allocated for the indicated purposes.

The problem of providing the population with water and in a number of places with heat, gas and electric power continues to remain urgent. Some local soviets do not manifest the necessary concern for the sanitary condition, civic improvements and planting of greenery in their territories. Yet these operations do not require special capital investments, about the lack and shortage of which executive committees complain often.

It is necessary to increase the responsibility of soviets for the work of trade, domestic service, public health, passenger transport and communication enterprises. Owing to the lack of initiative on the part of soviets, significant disproportions between supply and demand have been formed in a number of cities and rayons.

Not long ago, in accordance with the decision of the board of the republic's Ministry of Health, M. D. Mamedov, chief physician at the Baku City Hospital imeni Semashko, was relieved of his job for failure to provide leadership and noncorrespondence to the position held. Republic organs received many letters and statements about the shortcomings in the activity of this hospital. Baku and Nasiminskiy executive committees knew about the situation there. However, this problem did not become the subject of discussion by the executive committees or permanent commissions on public health of soviets. Unfortunately, the level of medical services remains low in a number of cities and rayons. The Ministry of Health and executive committees of soviets must rectify this matter. We must not tolerate the fact that in public health institutions there are still negative phenomena and cases of an irresponsible attitude on the part of medical workers toward the performance of their official duties.

Soviets of people's deputies are called upon to more broadly and purposefully engage in educational work and to skillfully utilize the rich arsenal of the means and methods of its organization. Problems of rise in the level of education, formation of a conscious attitude toward labor and training in the spirit of mutual respect for and friendship among nations and nationalities and a high civic duty should constantly be in the center of work of soviets of all levels.

Comrades! Considerable potentials and possibilities for the further rise in the efficiency of the activity of soviets of people's deputies remain unutilized owing to the omissions and blunders in the manner and method of their work. Many soviets poorly ensure the unity of economic and organizational activity, do not make a profound and all-around analysis of urgent problems of social and economic development, do not study the real conditions and situation in the localities every day and do not sufficiently coordinate the work of the enterprises and institutions located on their territory. Some soviets are carried away by all kinds of meetings and conferences in detriment to a direct work organization. Paper flow is reduced slowly and the responsibility of Soviet workers for the quality of document preparation is increased weakly.

It is well known that the essence of soviets as democratic organs is most fully disclosed at the sessions of soviets and meetings of deputy commissions. However, even today it can be noted that minor problems are often submitted to sessions for consideration, discussions are held without sharp criticism and with a low activity of deputies and formal nonspecific decisions are made.

As before, control and check of work remain the bottlenecks in the activity of many soviets.

Permanent commissions functioning under soviets are effective levers of management and control. In the republic there are more than 9,000 such commissions and more than 79.2 percent of all the deputies are engaged in their work. As we see, this is a big force, but it is not always utilized actively and purposefully.

The policy of the maximum possible improvement in the activity of permanent commissions must be implemented persistently. We must see to it that in the work of commissions there is more efficiency, specificity and competence, that they operate more efficiently at the interfaces of sectors, that they act as spokesmen for an overall approach to economic development, that they fight harder against departmentalism and shortcomings and that they lean more on the Soviet aktiv.

Such an effective form of control as the deputy inquiry should be utilized more fully. We must not tolerate the fact that instructions from electors, including in Baku, are not completely fulfilled everywhere.

The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee obliged us to more fully and better utilize all the methods of party influence on the activity of soviets. As already noted, extensive work has been done in this direction in the last few years. However, there are also many unsolved problems. Rayon, city and oblast party committees must assist in every possible way so that soviets increase the efficiency of control. We must see to it that soviets exactly and objectively evaluate the activity of officials and economic managers of all levels.

At the same time, party committees must not permit cases of petty tutelage and an unsubstantiated interference in the activity of Soviet organs. It should be remembered that the party performs its leading role in soviets through party member deputies. More than 22,000 party members are represented in the republic's soviets of people's deputies. However, proper concern for an increase in their activity is not manifested everywhere.

Fulfillment of the tasks determined by the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee depends to a decisive degree on improvement in the selection, disposition and training of Soviet personnel. Their qualitative composition has improved in the republic in recent years. However, as a study has shown, there are significant shortcomings and omissions in this matter. At times haste, unscrupulousness and an insufficiently exacting approach to personnel selection are tolerated and proper work with the reserve is not done. In the last 3 years 14 chairmen of rayon (city) executive committees have been relieved of their posts because of shortcomings in work. Their replaceability is frequent in a number of rayons.

The Council of Ministers must pay more attention to the activity of the executive committees of soviets and their divisions and administrations. Organizational divisions of local soviets need to be strengthened, primarily with party workers who have a great deal of experience.

The Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet plays an important role in all these matters.

Comrades! As was already stated, the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation approved the "Basic Directions in the General Educational and Vocational School Reform" and adopted the appropriate decrees. Enriched with the collective mind and life experience of millions of Soviet people and acquiring the force of a state act, the basic directions in the reform have become the principal document, in accordance with which our school is to live and work.

"In order that Soviet society may confidently advance toward our great goals," Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko stressed, "every new generation should rise to a higher level of education, general culture, vocational skills and civic activity. One can say that such is the law of social progress." The meaning and significance of the decisions adopted at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet lie in clearing the way for this law and creating the most favorable conditions for its full-blooded operation.

Vast advances in the development of public education have been attained in Soviet Azerbaijan. In the level and scale of personnel training Azerbaijan, like other Soviet republics, has left behind not only the countries of the foreign East, but also many developed capitalist states.

Rich experience in party leadership of the activity of public education organs and institutions has been accumulated in the republic. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan constantly deals with problems of

improvement in the matter of training and communist education of students and refinement in the work of the general educational school and the system of vocational and technical education. City and rayon party committees and primary party organizations of educational institutions have begun to be more concerned with improving the educational and training process and preparing young people for life and labor. Intensification of party leadership has contributed to the further rise in the level of general educational and vocational training of the young generation. In practice, the republic's entire youth enters life, having complete secondary education.

It is especially important that in the basic directions of the reform the Leninist principles of a unified polytechnical labor school with due regard for modern conditions and the possibilities of our society have received further creative development and the party strategy for the further improvement in the training and education of young people has been determined.

The accomplishment of the tasks set by the party requires that public education organs and educational institutions overcome shortcomings and omissions in school activity and, primarily, elements of formalism in the content and methods of training and educational work, intensify the practical direction of academic subjects and ensure a unity of knowledge, convictions and actions. The activity of general educational and vocational-technical schools should be evaluated only according to the depth and soundness of knowledge, level of vocational training and ideological and moral qualities of students.

The basic directions especially stress the importance of formation in students of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and development in them of the ability to independently evaluate social phenomena and to engage in well-reasoned polemics with any ideological opponent. All this is an important aspect of the work of party and Komsomol organizations of educational institutions in the fulfillment of the educational and ideological functions of Soviet schools.

The military patriotic education of the young generation should become more purposeful and effective. Good experience in the moral-political and military-technical training of youth for service in the ranks of the Armed Forces and in the cultivation in young people of courage, will and readiness for feats has been accumulated in the republic.

Problems of formation in the growing generation of a high sense of socialist internationalism and international duty should be in the center of our attention. Pedagogical collectives, party organizations and Komsomol committees of educational institutions face an important task, that is, to unite youth and to contribute to the intensification in its midst of relations based on ideas of friendship and brotherhood of Soviet nations.

The Russian language is a powerful means having the most beneficial effect on the internationalization of all the aspects of social life and on the mutual enrichment and flourishing of national cultures. The decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and of the republic's Council of Ministers "On Additional Measures To Improve the Study of the Russian Language in General Educational Schools and Other Educational Institutions" aims

at the creation of favorable conditions for the study of the Russian language, expansion and improvement of the training of teaching personnel and rise in their skills. In accordance with it, as well as a number of previously adopted party documents, considerable work has been done in the republic. At the same time, in some schools, especially rural ones, the teaching and quality of instruction of the Russian language as yet do not meet modern requirements. Oblast, city and rayon party committees, Soviet, trade-union and Komsomol organs, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and the republic's State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education must improve the work in this direction and see to it that every young person has full command of the Russian language.

Artistic and esthetic education of students has acquired great importance in the formation of the new man under present conditions.

Soviet society is deeply interested in seeing to it that our youth grows spiritually rich and morally and physically healthy. There are many unsolved problems and there is something to work on here. The Central Committee of the Komsomol of Azerbaijan, the Azerbaijan Trade Union Council, the Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education must seriously see to it that the physical education of children and students is improved fundamentally and that every pioneer, Komsomol member and young man and woman regularly engage in physical culture and sports. It is no less important to improve medical services for school children and disease prevention. More concern for school cafeterias and buffets and for the organization of hot meals for students should be manifested.

Preschool and out-of-school institutions and the entire system of children's public education play an important rôle in the education of the growing generation. The activity of these institutions requires intensified attention on the part of Soviet, party, trade union and economic organs, which are called upon to see to it that their network, especially in rural areas, is expanded, including with the funds of industrial and agricultural enterprises.

A fundamental improvement in school education in an inseparable unity with the labor training and vocational guidance of students and provision of their direct participation in socially useful and productive labor are the key problems of the forthcoming reform. Lenin's following words sound especially urgent now: "... It is impossible to imagine the ideal of future society without the combination of training with the productive labor of the young generation. Neither training and education without productive labor, nor productive labor without parallel training and education, could be placed at the height required by the present level of technology and the state of scientific knowledge."

It must be stated that a great deal is done in this direction in the republic. A unified system of labor training of students and their vocational guidance has been developed and is carried out successfully in cities, rayons and general educational schools. At the base of 79 interschool industrial training combines, 100 shops and sections of base enterprises and school shops students receive labor and prevocational training.

Speaking at it, Comrade K. U. Chernenko said the following: "The closer we bring school to production, the more substantial the return--educational and political--on the reform will be. Soviet youth should enter independent life highly cultured, educated and industrious. No matter what our children become--workers or agronomists, scientists or engineers--they should receive class training in labor collectives. We must see to it that their familiarity with production gives the educational effect that we need."

The combination of training with productive labor presupposes primarily the inclusion of students in systematic and organized socially useful labor appropriate for their health and age. In connection with the general educational school reform we are to organize the systematic labor of more than 600,000 students, beginning from the fifth grade. To ensure the conditions for this is, of course, not only the concern of schools, but primarily of production collectives and party, Soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic organs.

The republic's Council of Ministers, Gosplan, State Committee for Labor, Ministry of Education and State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education and executive committees of soviets of people's deputies must assign a base enterprise to every general educational and vocational-technical school, additionally establish school and interschool industrial training shops, associations, shops and sections, refine the specializations in students' labor training and determine the spheres of application of their labor with due regard for the needs of the social and economic development of every region. In the final analysis, the task lies in a good organization of juvenile labor so that the efficient rhythm and order in production and the spirit of work cohesion and collectivism may, in practice, help teach children the science of life and help them in the choice and mastery of occupations and in the development of high civic qualities.

In the light of the requirements of the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee the system of vocational and technical education as the basic source of training skilled working personnel for our national economy is to solve responsible problems. Proceeding from them, the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education and its local organs must improve the work on an overall solution of problems of student training and education and a quality training of graduates of vocational and technical schools. More attention should be paid to problems of selection, disposition and ideological-political education of the managers and engineering and pedagogical personnel of these educational institutions. Directors of ministries, departments and base enterprises must in advance think out and solve problems concerning a prompt job placement and retention of young working personnel in production and creation of the necessary working and living conditions for them. It is a question of the creation of conditions ensuring the formation of a new generation of key workers, who were, are and must always be the backbone of production and the pride of the working class.

The further development of the network and strengthening of the material and technical base of educational institutions are some of the basic conditions for a successful implementation of the reform. In accordance with the basic directions we are to implement a broad program of construction of schools, industrial training shops and combines, vocational and technical schools, pre-school and out-of-school institutions, dormitories and boarding schools for students.

Problems of school construction are especially acute. For the transition to one-shift classes we will need to build new schools for 380,000 places and with due regard for the liquidation of leased premises and the demolition of emergency ones the need will increase even more and total 610,000 places. For the implementation of this program the republic's Council of Ministers and Gosplan must include the appropriate limits of capital investments in the plans for social and economic development of the 12th Five-Year Plan and for the period until the year 2000. It is also necessary to more broadly use the funds of the sector "agriculture" and the internal funds of kolkhozes for the construction and reconstruction of general educational schools in rural areas. Along with this builders and client ministries must see to it that the five-year plan for school construction is fulfilled unconditionally.

The State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, its local organs, appropriate ministries and departments and party and Soviet organs must carefully analyze the state of affairs in every school and work out specific measures for the construction of new complexes of vocational and technical schools and the reconstruction and strengthening of the material base of existing ones.

In the implementation of the school reform an important role is assigned to city and rayon party committees. They should ensure the coordinated actions of Soviet and economic organs, trade union and Komsomol organizations, general educational and vocational-technical schools and labor collectives for the implementation of the reform and competently solve the urgent problems of development of public education. Specific plans for the realization of the reform should be developed and approved at plenums of party committees and sessions of soviets of people's deputies in every city and rayon.

Party committees are called upon to raise the level of management of party organizations in educational institutions and to increase their attention to and assistance for them. A total of 2,186 party organizations now operate in the republic's general educational and vocational-technical schools. Every fifth general educational and vocational-technical school teacher is a party member. Party committees must significantly improve the work on the selection of the worthiest teachers for the party, raise the vanguard role of party members and the fighting capacity of primary party organizations, increase the party stratum in educational institutions and strive for the establishment of party organizations in every pedagogical collective.

Big and responsible tasks are set for soviets of people's deputies and trade union organs, which must significantly improve their work on the management and administration of public education. Executive committees of soviets must more profoundly deal with problems of retention of pedagogical personnel and improvement in their working and living conditions, medical services and sanatorium treatment.

Our scientists must also activate their work significantly. Their efforts should be concentrated on the elaboration of the most important problems of training and education and on the analysis of processes occurring in schools. The republic's scientists should promptly make practical recommendations and introduce amendments into study programs and textbooks in order to free them from excessively complicated and secondary material.

Teachers' labor was highly evaluated at the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The teacher was called the chief figure in the implementation of the reform. In the republic's general educational and vocational-technical schools there are many good pedagogical collectives, in which genuine experts at their jobs work, creatively solving complex and multifaceted problems of formation of the new man. The names of Heroes of Socialist Labor M. Kuliyeu, A. Gadzhiyev and Sh. Panakhov, USSR people's teachers Z. Shoyubov, D. Zakiyev, I. Atayan and I. Shukyurov and the republic's honored teachers N. Shishkin, Ya. Bunyatov, Z. Safarova and many others are widely known in Azerbaijan and beyond its limits. We note with satisfaction and gratitude that teachers represent a reliable support for the republic's party organization in youth education.

At the same time, the present stage in social development sets more complex, responsible, new tasks for teachers. The teacher should realize as fully as possible the capabilities of general educational and vocational-technical schools for the daily intellectual, esthetic and moral enrichment of the spiritual world of students. Oblast, city and rayon committees of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Azerbaijan, the Ministry of Education and the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education must persistently strive for the establishment of a business-like, healthy moral and psychological atmosphere in every pedagogical collective and engage in systematic and purposeful work on the education of pedagogical personnel.

Providing general educational and vocational-technical schools with pedagogical personnel and strengthening all public education links with competent, highly skilled specialists are important tasks set by the reform. Unfortunately, the qualitative composition of pedagogical personnel does not fully meet the requirements placed on it. The percent of teachers with higher education is low in Agdashskiy, Dashkesanskiy, Divichinskiy, Zardobskiy, Zakatalskiy, Lerikskiy, Pushkinskiy, Yardymlinskiy and some other rayons. Such a situation has a negative effect on the level of the training and educational process. Meanwhile, local party and Soviet organs reluctantly utilize such a path of personnel training as noncompetitive admission of rural youth to pedagogical higher educational institutions. Nor is everything done to retain young specialists in rural areas.

The republic's Gosplan, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education must introduce the appropriate amendments to the plans for the training and retraining of pedagogical personnel and increase the number of graduating teachers of manual training, masters of industrial training and pedagogical engineers. Rectors and party committees of higher educational institutions must raise the quality of training and education and intensify the work on the vocational and pedagogical direction of the teaching process.

The increased volume and complexity of the tasks that have to be accomplished by public education organs require the further improvement in the manner and method of activity of the republic's Ministry of Education and State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education. They should profoundly and self-critically analyze their activity, map out specific measures to improve training and educational work in general educational and vocational-technical schools and to refine the structure of managerial personnel and strengthen all links with competent workers full of initiative.

Republic newspapers and journals, television and radio broadcasting play a big role in the propaganda and explanation of the decisions of the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, high goals and humanistic direction of the reform and workers' mobilization for its realization. They are called upon to systematically illuminate the work of party and Soviet organs on the fulfillment of the reform's requirements and to popularize the best experience of party organizations and collectives of educational institutions and the teacher's selfless labor.

We are entering the stage of an immediate realization of the reform, which is a major measure on a general state scale and a great social and political event of vast importance for our entire future. The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a number of decrees aimed at the practical realization of the basic directions in the reform and the solution of problems connected with the further strengthening of the educational and material base of general educational and vocational-technical schools and children's preschool institutions and with the creation of the necessary personnel and material prerequisites for supplementing secondary education with universal vocational training. Their successful realization, like the implementation of the entire reform, which Comrade K. U. Chernenko discussed at a meeting with the workers of the Serp i Molot Plant, will largely depend on the interested participation of production collectives and on the strengthening of "school-enterprise" cooperation. In accordance with the documents and aims of the party and the government the decrees of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and of the republic's Council of Ministers will be adopted in the very near future. Implementation of the outlined measures will demand from all of us large-scale organizational and political work. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan expresses firm confidence that party, Soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic organs, party members and workers in the republic will make an appropriate contribution to this general party and national cause and raise the training and communist education of the growing generation to an even higher level.

Comrades! The documents of the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which have determined the key points of application of efforts at the present stage of development of Soviet society and clear guidelines for the future, are the treasure house of the party's ideas and collective thought enriched with new experience.

We, party members, know well that the party's ideas become a moving force when they take possession of the hearts and minds of millions. Therefore, to bring the plenum's decisions to every party member and every worker is today one of the primary tasks of party committees, of the entire ideological aktiv and of the means of mass information and propaganda. The propaganda and explanation of the decisions of the Plenum of the Central Committee and of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet must be carried out actively, thoughtfully and creatively so that they may really become a guide to action on the part of our personnel, wide masses of party members and labor collectives.

Today we have approached an important stage in the direct preparation for the forthcoming 27th CPSU Congress and the 31st Congress of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. As noted at the April Plenum of the Central Committee, it is

necessary to look carefully at how the decisions of the 26th congress are fulfilled in all areas. To sum up what has been done means to consolidate the success, to activate unutilized possibilities and to raise the efficiency and quality of all our work even higher. In the course of the analysis made in connection with the fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th congress it is also necessary to take into consideration how our plans determined by the 30th Congress of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan were and are being implemented. This is especially important, because many of them are of a long-term nature, which means that they directly concern the problems that we are to solve during the 12th Five-Year Plan.

Permit me in your behalf, in behalf of all the republic's party members, to assure the Central Committee of the Leninist Party, its Politburo and Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, that the Azerbaijan party organization closely united around the CPSU will apply all its efforts, ability and experience to successfully implement the decisions of the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan and appropriately welcome the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

(K. M. Bagirov's report was heard with great attention and was often interrupted by applause).

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CSO: 1830/514

REGIONAL

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS CHAIRMAN ON ECONOMIC, INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

Estonian Republic Aktiv Meeting Held

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 21 Jun 84 p 1

[ETA [Estonian News Agency] item under rubric "Republic Meeting of Party and Economic Aktiv": "Information Report"]

[Text] On 20 June a republic meeting of the party and economic aktiv was held in Tallinn. Participants included secretaries of the party's city committees and certain rural rayon committees, chairmen of city executive committees, administrators of ministries and departments, responsible workers in the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia [ECP], the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, the ESSR Committee of People's Control, ESSR Gosplan, the Estonian Republic Council of Trade Unions, the Central Committee of the Estonian Komsomol, a group of administrators of enterprises and secretaries of party organizations, advanced workers, innovators of production, inventors, and efficiency experts at a number of enterprises, organizations of industry, construction, agriculture, transportation, and the branches in the services sphere, as well as scientists and specialists from the republic's scientific-research institutions and institutions of higher learning, and journalists.

The meeting of the activists was opened by CPSU Central Committee member, First Secretary of the ECP Central Committee, K. Vayno.

The participants discussed the question "Ways to Accelerate Scientific-Technical Progress in the National Economy of ESSR in the Light of the Requirements of the 26th Party Congress and the Subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee."

A report was given by ECP Central Committee Buro member, Chairman of the ESSR Council of Ministers, B. Saul.

Participants in the discussion after the report included Second Secretary of the party's Tallinn City Committee, P. Panfilov; President of ESSR Academy of Sciences K. Rebane; ESSR Minister of Timber and Wood Processing Industry, V. Chernyshev; lathe operator at the Tartu Instrument-Building Plant, USSR State Prize Winner P. Goryunov; chairman of the Estonian Council of the Society of Inventors, G. Melits; rector of TPI [Tallinn Polytechnical Institute], ESSR Academy of Sciences Academician B. Tamm; party committee secretary at the Baltiyskaya Manufaktura

combine, Ye. Filatova; director of the ESSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, R. Otsason; director of the NII [Scientific-Research Institute] of Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Sciences, VASKhNIL [All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin] Academician E. Val'dman; chief engineer at the Estpromproyekt GPI [State Planning Institute], G. Nurmet; and director of the Tallin Machine-Building Plant imeni I. Lauristin, A. Moroz.

A speech at the meeting of activists was given by Secretary of the ECP Central Committee, N. Ganyushov.

A resolution dealing with the question being discussed was enacted.

The following took part in the work of the meeting of activists: Comrades A. Kudryavtsev, V. Kyao, L. Lentsman, O. Merimaa, R. Ristlaan, A.-B. Upsi, D. Visnapuu, and M. Pedak.

Report by B. E. Saul

Tallinn SOVESTKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 21 Jun 84 pp 1-3

[Article: "Ways to Accelerate Scientific-Technical Progress in the National Economy of ESSR in the Light of the Requirements of the 26th Party Congress and the Subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee: Report by ECP Central Committee Buro Member, Chairman of ESSR Council of Ministers, Comrade B. E. Saul"]

[Text] In implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the party strives persistently to carry out the considerable economy, social, and ideological measures that conform to the vital needs of the further improvement of the developed socialist society. We are in the midst of a reorganization of the entire economy, with the emphasis being directed chiefly at its intensive development, the better use of the accumulated production and scientific-technical potential and all the material and labor resources, at the more complete satisfying of the growing needs of production and the public, and the reinforcement of our Motherland's might. At the same time, the steady development of science and technology and the use of the capabilities of scientific-technical progress for increasing the effectiveness of production have been and continue to be the decisive factor in the development of the socialist economy.

In August 1983 the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted, in execution of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, an important document -- "Ways to Accelerate Scientific-Technical Progress in the National Economy -- which specifies the ways to achieve a sharp acceleration of the rates of scientific-technical progress as the decisive factor for increasing the effectiveness of social production, primarily for increasing the labor productivity. It defined the tasks of the party agencies, ministries, departments, the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and the Academies of Sciences of the union republics.

The importance of these tasks has been increasing especially during the period of the preparation for the 27th CPSU Congress and the development of the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in the 12th Five-Year Plan and Until the Year 2000.

The orientation toward the complete use of the achievements of science and technology in order to build the material-technical base of socialism has been in the center of our party's attention since the very beginning of the existence of the Soviet State.

V. I. Lenin wrote, ". . . the one who will take the upper hand is the one that has the greatest technology, the highest organizational spirit and discipline, and the best machines. . ." At the present time, when the entire increase in social production is supposed to be guaranteed completely by the increase in labor productivity, when we observe an aggravation of the problem of the economizing of fuel and raw and other materials as a consequence of the increase in the costs of producing them, and there has been a rapid change in the structure of production, the acceleration of the rates of scientific-technical progress is becoming a condition that determines the upsurge of the economy. Meanwhile the steady development of science and technology, the reinforcement of the scientific-technical potential, are not only very important factors for creating the conditions for the dynamic movement of the economy ahead, but are also taking on great social, ideological, and political importance.

The social importance of scientific-technical progress lies in increasing the meaningful value of labor, in reducing the gap between mental and physical labor, and in eliminating the substantial differences between the city and the countryside.

Our party's scientific-technical policy is also aimed at the formation of a scientific political philosophy, at increasing the moral and political responsibility borne by the scientists, engineers, and workers for the introduction of the achievements of science into production, and the indoctrination in the workers of a communistic attitude toward labor and a careful attitude toward the environment. Herein lies the ideological aspect of scientific-technical progress.

It can be said that it is precisely in the area of scientific-technical progress today that one of the chief fronts in the historic competition between socialism and capitalism is located.

General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade K. U. Chernenko, speaking at the February 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, said that the intensification, the accelerated introduction into production of the achievements of science and technology, and the carrying out of large-scale comprehensive programs — all these things, in the final analysis, must raise to a qualitatively new level the productive forces of our society.

In October 1983 the Central Committee of the ECP and the ESSR Council of Ministers adopted a joint decree, entitled "Ways to Accelerate the Scientific-Technical Progress in the National Economy of ESSR." In that decree the party, Soviet, and economic agencies, enterprises, and organizations were assigned tasks that evolve from the union-wide decree.

Accelerating the scientific-technical progress means working in such a way that in all links of the national economy, in every association, at every enterprise and organization, the people strive annually to achieve a constant increase in the economic benefit from the introduction into production of the achievements of science and technology, it means guaranteeing that level of implementation of scientific-technical measures whereby the economic benefit from them, in the form of the increase in labor productivity, will make it possible to accelerate the growth

rates of production without increasing the number of workers, as well as improving the quality of the output being produced, and reducing its production costs.

Recently the 14th Plenum of the ECP Central Committee was held. The report given by Comrade K. G. Vayno analyzed in the light of the decisions of the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee the state of affairs in our republic's economy. As is well known, as a whole they are proceeding rather well. It is expected that within this year we shall achieve the rate of increase in the national income that was stipulated for the entire 11th Five-Year Plan, that is, the five-year assignment for this indicator will be fulfilled ahead of time, in four years. At the same time this does not yet indicate that we do not have any shortcomings in the area of increasing the effectiveness of production. Therefore the goal of this republic meeting of the party and economic activists consists in analyzing the activities of the party organizations and collectives at enterprises in the national economy, scientific-research institutions, design-technology organizations, and economic, trade-union, and Komsomol agencies in the area of scientific-technical progress; in summarizing their advanced experience; in directing their efforts toward the use of all the available reserves and opportunities for converting the process of assimilation of scientific-technical innovations in the republic into a steady and constantly accelerated flow; and in making a worthy contribution to the resolution of the tasks of raising the national standard of living and reinforcing our country's economic and defensive might.

The party and government have assigned the task of assuring that, in their activities of accelerating the scientific-technical progress, the ministries, departments, associations, and enterprises proceed from the assumption that within the next few years domestic industry must achieve the production of machinery, equipment, instruments, materials, and other kinds of output which, from the point of view of their technical-economic indicators, are on a par with the best worldwide counterparts. And this, in its turn, makes high demands on the production base, the technological schemes, the level of proficiency of the producers, and on the scientific developments.

Are we satisfied with the rates of development and the structure of industrial production in the republic with a consideration of the nationwide division of labor and the formation of cooperatives in production? On the whole, our republic's industry fulfilled the assignments of the first three years of the 11th Five-Year Plan: an increase of 8.2 percent was achieved, as compared with a planned increase of 7 percent. Last year's positive results are also being reinforced this year. Judging by the estimates for 1985, during the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole industry will achieve an increase in the volume of production by 13.6 percent, as compared with the 13 percent that was established by the five-year plan.

There has been an overfulfillment of assignments in the development of the production of industrial output at enterprises of ESSR Ministry of Timber and Wood Processing Industry, Ministry of Construction, Ministry of Forestry and the Protection of Nature, and certain other branches. However, individual enterprises and certain ministries have failed to achieve the level of production that was stipulated by the five-year plan. We sense a shortage of machine-building output for the agroindustrial complex, metal structurals for the construction industry, and means of automation for almost all the branches of the national economy. Many of these disproportions in production can and must be eliminated with the aid

of the introduction of the achievements of science and technology; by accelerating the development of the same or other branches of industry in the interests of eliminating the intrabranh and interbranch disproportions. One finds here a broad field for the activity of our Gosplan, jointly with the interested ministries and departments.

The existing disproportions between the branches of industry also exert a serious effect upon expanded reproduction. Thus, a lag in the building-materials industry slows down construction in all branches of the national economy, that is, the expanded reproduction as a whole. This is something that Comrade V. R. Klauson should think especially seriously about when developing the program for the development of his branch for the 12th Five-Year Plan. The need to eliminate the disproportions also exists in other branches of the national economy. The administrators of industry and Gosplan must do some serious thinking about the question of why, during recent years (1976-1983), the nonbasic industry -- that is, the repair and subsidiary industry -- has been developing at a rate that is 1.5-2 times faster for the production of output than the basic industry has been developing. And its share in the overall industrial output is 15 percent -- that is, is a considerable share. Or why is it that the capacities of the Kiviyl Shale-Chemistry Plant for the production of synthetic detergents are being used at an 82-percent level; or those for the production of electric motors at the Vol'ta Plant are being used at the 84-percent level? Also, the shift-operation coefficient for metal-processing equipment in the basic production constituted only 1.18 in 1982. Here is where one can find tangible reserves for the production of additional output and for increasing the rates of developing the economy as a whole, if the proper attention is devoted to these questions of if the measures are reinforced by the necessary resources.

It is gratifying to note that the assignments for the reduction of production costs in industry during 1981-1983 for the republic as a whole are being fulfilled. Thanks to the intensification of the work to economize fuel, energy, and raw materials during the first three years of the five-year plan the amount of materials required for the production of output was reduced by 2.5 percent. And that is the way that that situation should continue. During the first five months of the current year, for the republic as a whole, not only were the assignments for the reduction of production costs fulfilled, but provision is being made for the fulfillment of an additional assignment (reduction by 0.58 percent). Unfortunately, one cannot say this about all the industrial enterprises. They were discussed at a plenum of the ECP Central Committee that was held recently.

As for the consumer properties of the industrial output, they are being renewed on a planned basis and are determined by certification.

Starting during the current year, the USSR is introducing the certification of industrial output on the basis of only two categories of quality -- highest quality and first quality -- with the orientation of the qualitative and operational indicators toward the consumer, toward comparison with the level achieved by the best worldwide models. In ESSR the certification of output, according to data provided by Gosstandart [State Committee for Standards], was carried out in 1983 at 114 industrial enterprises. Of them, 76 had the right to produce 1308 articles with the state Seal of Quality. The amount of output with

the highest category of quality amounted to more than 650 million rubles, which constituted 40.9 percent of the total volume of the output being certified.

Thanks to the purposeful work being carried out in our republic to improve the quality of the output being produced, during the years of the 11th Five-Year Plan there was almost a doubling of the number of enterprises that produce more than half their output with the highest category of quality.

In 1983 the industrial output at our republic's enterprises was exported to 102 countries. These articles include the Talleksa land-reclamation excavator; the gas and fuel oil burners produced by the Il'marine Plant; cables produced by Eesti Kaabel'; articles produced by the Marat and Baltika Associations; safety belts produced by the Norma Production Association; etc.

The struggle for the high quality of output is based on its prompt renovation. During the elapsed three years of the 11th Five-Year Plan we assimilated anew or renewed approximately 6000 articles, including 122 types of machinery and equipment. But whereas, as a whole, the number of types of output that were newly assimilated or that were being renewed has been increasing and in 1983 constituted 264 different items, the number of newly assimilated machines and types of equipment, as well as the share of fundamentally new articles, have been decreasing in our republic. The insufficient technical-economic level of the newly assimilated types of output is also attested to by the fact that in 1983 only one-fifth of them were included in the highest quality category.

One has observed a tendency toward the obsolescence of the articles being produced, especially in machine-building. For example, at the Vyyt Agricultural Machinery Plant in Tartu, the production age of the articles being produced is 17 years. They include transporters for loading potatoes which are lagging behind from the point of view of the amount of materials required to produce them, their technological functionability, and even their outward appearance. The managers of the enterprise, however, have been reconciling themselves to this situation. Similar examples also exist at the Prompribor and Vyrupribor Production Associations, the Vol'ta Plant, etc. The reason for this is the low rate of participation by the leadership of those enterprises and the nonfulfillment of the assignments and state plans for the assimilation of new output. Even such a production association as Tallinskiy Elektrotekhnicheskiy Zavod imeni M. I. Kalinin, the makeup of which includes a scientific-research institute with more than 600 workers and which has to its credit elaborations that correspond to or even exceed the level of worldwide standards, has delayed the rates of renovation of output. Of the semiconductor devices that were developed by the institute, at the present time, practically speaking, the plant has assimilated the production only a single welded diode. This is inadmissible in the face of those capabilities that the production association has at its disposal. I think that Comrades Miroshnichenko and Terno have something to think about.

And now I would like to say a few words about consumer goods. They occupy a leading place in the structure of our republic's industrial output. At the present time the consumers are making especially increased demands on them, and this must be taken into consideration both in the quantitative and the qualitative aspects. In April 1983 a plenum of the ECP Central Committee was held, at which measures were worked out to develop the production of consumer goods. They are being implemented rather well. At the present time BSSR Gosplan is developing, as a

component part of the nationwide program, a special comprehensive target program for the production of consumer goods and the development of the services system in ESSR for 1986-2000. I would like today to express my conviction that the managers of our enterprises will take a highly responsible attitude to the participation in the development of this program on the basis of the requirements of scientific-technical progress.

And I would also like to discuss one aspect of the problem -- the stability of the qualitative parameters of the output. Instances of the unstable quality of the articles being produced in our republic are confirmed by the fact that during 1983 the Estonian Republic Administration of Gosstandart imposed 169 bans on output, and in 86 instances applied economic sanctions.

The improvement of the quality of the output being produced depends largely on the level of technological processes. It is necessary to assimilate modern technological processes that make it possible to guarantee a constantly high quality, reliability, and long service life, as well as the proper appearance of the articles. It is also necessary to increase the responsibility borne by the engineer-technical personnel and the other workers for the quality of the parts, assemblies, and articles as a whole, and for the observance of technological discipline. It is necessary to carry on a decisive struggle at enterprises against the lack of personal responsibility and to strive for the broader introduction of the worker's personal stamp, and the increase in the responsibility borne by the workers in the event that complaints or claims against quality are received. Each enterprise must have an effective, well-coordinated, comprehensive system for quality control of the output.

Something that requires the devotion of much more serious attention to itself is the organization of patent and license work and of the work involving inventors and efficiency experts.

Summing up the results of the analysis of the state of the technical level and quality of industrial output in our republic, one comes to the following conclusions:

- 1) the ministries, departments, and associations must plan and carry out specific measures for the more complete and accelerated assimilation of the production capacities and, on that basis, must achieve the production of additional output and higher rates of economic development;
- 2) in the interests of the harmonious and balanced development of the republic's economy, with a consideration of nationwide cooperation, and also with the purpose of reducing the amount of transportation needs for the shipping of output and the reducing of production costs, it is necessary first of all to assure the creation of capacities for those kinds of output the shortage of which has been hampering the development of the related branches, that is, to resolve the questions of eliminating the interbranch and intrabrand proportions. This work must be headed by ESSR Gosplan;
- 3) it is necessary to carry out a more decisive struggle for the high technical level and quality of output and its conformity to the highest worldwide standards. It would appear to be appropriate today to raise the task: by the end of the century, increase the proportion of the output with the highest category of

quality in the output being certified to 60-70 percent. This work must be headed by the Estonian Republic Administration of Gosstandart and all the engineering services of the ministries and associations.

Another important part of the activity in the area of introducing the achievements of science and technology into production lies in the carrying out of measures with the purpose of increasing the effectiveness of production itself, that is, its development with the more efficient use of the labor and all material resources, and their economizing per unit of output. These measures include the introduction of advanced technology; the mechanization and automation of production; the renovation and modernization of the equipment; the scientific organization of labor; and the raising of the proficiency level of the personnel.

The fixed assets in the ESSR national economy exceed 15 billion rubles, of which 10 billion are production assets. Every year we activate new fixed assets valued on the average at 800 million rubles. During 1981-1983 they increased by 16 percent.

The leading and largest-scale branch of our republic's economy is industry. It has at its disposal as of today fixed assets valued at 4.6 billion rubles.

Another branch that has become highly mechanized is agriculture, which today has at its disposal 20,000 tractors, thousands of grain-harvesting and potato-picking combines, milking machines, and other kinds of technology, up to and including plans for the production of combined fodders, protein, etc.

The mechanization, automation, and renovation of the production base are also being carried out in construction, transportation, and communication.

It is certainly important to us how and where we annually use approximately one billion rubles of capital investments for the creation of new fixed assets. During 1981-1983 the industries that had an increase in production assets which was higher than the average for the republic were the timber, wood processing, and light industry, where a large amount of work is being carried out to achieve the technical re-equipping of production. At the same time ministries for which the rates of activation of assets were below the average for the republic were the ESSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry, and Ministry of Procurements. And this is precisely in those branches where we feel the effects of the interbranch disproportions most of all. In the fixed assets being put into operation, there is an insufficient share in those on the credit side of the ledger — in 1983, only 48.8 percent. The situation is being aggravated by the slow assimilation of the fixed assets and their incomplete use, and by the reduction in the return on assets. The overcoming of tendency toward the reduction of return on assets and the guaranteeing of its increase as one of the sources of socialist accumulation is one of the urgent tasks.

In addition to the reduction of the return on assets, one also observes a process of the obsolescence of the fixed production assets.

With the purpose of overcoming the obsolescence of the fixed production assets, the percentage of capital investments for the re-equipping of production will be sharply increased during the forthcoming years. A factor that has been retarding the renovation of these assets is the low rate of elimination of worn-out

equipment. The result of this approach to the renovation of assets is the unstable operation of the equipment and the low quality of the output.

The situation is substantially different with regard to the renovation of equipment for the branches of industry. Whereas in light industry the average age of the equipment, as of the end of 1983, was 7 years, which should be considered to be normal, the average age of the basic technological equipment in our republic's machine-building exceeds 13 years. That's quite old. The "worn-out" enterprises with regard to equipment include the Punane Kunda Plant, Estonbumprom, the Valga Bread Products Combine, and certain others.

The renovation of equipment, of course, is not a goal in itself, but, rather, a means of improving the quality of the output and of increasing the labor productivity.

The steady increase in labor productivity is an economic law of socialism. V. I. Lenin wrote, "Labor productivity, in the final analysis, is the most important, the absolutely chief factor for the victory of the new social system." How apropos those words sound today!

During 1981-1983 the productivity of social labor in our republic's national economy increased by 12 percent, which surpasses the computed increase that had been stipulated for those years -- 7.7 percent. During the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole, the increase in labor productivity, according to forecasts by ESSR Gosplan, will be 17-18 percent, as compared with the computed figure of 15 percent.

Despite these figures, the efforts and results with regard to guaranteeing an increase in labor productivity cannot be considered to be sufficient. And that pertains to almost all branches.

Here is one example. Under the conditions when one experiences a shortage of manpower in rural areas, in construction, and the social infrastructure, when the natural increase in the labor resources in the current five-year plan and the next one in our republic is a minus one, and industry is annually creating thousands of additional work sites, it is logical that we have a need to guarantee the entire increase in the national income by means of increasing the labor productivity. However, according to data provided by ESSR TsSU [Central Statistics Administration], during the first five months of this year the plans for our republic's enterprises stipulated an increase in production as a result of the increase of labor productivity only in the volume of 86 percent, that is, instead of reducing the number of industrial-production personnel, there has been an increase. That's an example for you of how to administer labor resources in conformity with the requirements of the economy!

True, by virtue of the overfulfillment of the plan for labor productivity and its increase by 4 percent, there was, in the final analysis, no need to increase the number of industrial-production personnel to fulfill the planned assignments, and those kinds of personnel in our republic's industry had a reduction by 602 persons during the first five months of this year. And that was also the result for 1983.

It is also necessary to a greater degree to change the approach to the implementation of the measures for raising the technical level of production, without which

we will not resolve either the tasks of accelerating the rates of increase of labor productivity or the reduction of manual and relatively unproductive labor, and we will be unable to increase the shift factor in the use of equipment.

In all these directions it will be necessary to carry out strenuous work. For example, the share of the workers performing work manually in industry constitutes approximately 37 percent and between 1979 and 1982 was reduced by only 2 percent.

At the present time the greatest share of the benefit resulting from the measures to raise the technical level of production is obtained from the introduction of advanced technological processes -- 40 percent -- and the mechanization of the production processes -- approximately 30 percent -- with an expenditure repayment rate of 2-2.5 years. These measures will continue to constitute the basis of our plans for the introduction of innovations, but at the present time life requires the paying of much more attention to the fundamental technical re-equipping of production and to the improvement of the use of the fixed production assets, and to the introduction of equipment with programmed control and complexes of robot technology.

While giving especially great importance to the acceleration of the work to increase the effectiveness and growth rates of labor productivity in the national economy by means of the automation of the production processes, it is necessary to assimilate the production of machinery, equipment, instruments, materials, and other output that corresponds, from the point of view of their technical-economic indicators, to the highest worldwide level, and that makes it possible to achieve a sharp increase in labor productivity and to reduce the amount of manual labor. We have enterprises where this work has been organized rather well. For example, it is necessary to note the far-sighted technical policy of the Pioneer Experimental Plant and the ESSR Ministry of Local Industry as a whole, where it was possible to raise the technological level of the complicated and precision parts to a qualitatively new one. That was achieved by the comprehensive introduction of a system of machine tools with ChPU [digital programmed control], auxiliary equipment, and minicomputers for the planning of the technological process and the preparation of the controlling program. We also have had achievements in the area of the application of means of computer technology. But as a whole the rate of automation and the introduction of computers into the national economy in our republic cannot satisfy anyone.

Among the measures of NOT [scientific organization of labor] during recent years, special attention has been devoted to the introduction of the brigade form of organizing labor. The number of industrial workers who have been involved in the brigade form of organizing labor and providing incentives for it has increased during the past two years to 60.2 percent. That is good. However, the proper attention is not yet being devoted everywhere to the development and improvement of the brigade organization of labor. For example, whereas at enterprises in ESSR Ministry of Light Industry 66 percent of the brigades are operating with the use of elements of cost accounting, in the system of ESSR Ministry of Procurements, at such enterprises as the Estremrybflot and Prompribor Associations and the Vol'ta and Estoplast Plants, cost accounting, practically speaking, is not being introduced in the brigades.

When analyzing the reasons for the situation that has been created, we first of all come up against the attitude taken toward that job, and the organization of labor.

We have a large number of good managers and highly qualified specialists with a creative, engineering approach to the job at hand and who have achieved a high rate of results in the introduction of innovations into production. They include Comrades Chernyshev and Kraft, Tammevyali and Al'terman, Gavronskiy and Kull', Mel'nik and Kyaer -- it would be impossible to list all of them. They are people at different levels of management, with different ages, experience, and occupations, but they are all united by one thing -- their good socialist initiative, their sense of what is new, and their high party responsibility for the work sector that has been assigned to them. Our thanks go to them for this.

But, as the expression goes, "The voice of one man is the voice of no one." It is necessary for us to reorganize engineering thinking and practical activity at each enterprise in the direction of the accelerated introduction of the achievements of science and technology with the purpose of the effective use of the labor and other material resources.

In the key sectors of production, science, and culture we currently have mature, good cadres. Suffice it to state that our republic's national economy employs more than 3000 scientists (doctors and candidates of sciences), 88,800 specialists with higher education, and 116,800 specialists with secondary education. At the present time approximately 25,000 persons are attending our institutions of higher learning, specializing in almost 100 different areas. In recent years we have begun to train specialists along many new directions that have been called to life by the needs of scientific-technical and social progress. These give rise to new tasks of improving the process of engineer training and retraining of our cadres.

For scientific-technical progress, education and professional training are important components. That is brilliantly expressed in the decree of the April 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "The Basic Directions in the Reform of the General Educational and Vocational Schools" and in the measures, recently adopted at a session of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, for implementing the school reform in our republic.

A responsible role in accelerating the scientific-technical program and in the broad and rapid introduction into production of the achievements of science, technology, and advanced experience is played also by the scientific-technical public. A very important task of the scientific-technical societies and the VOIR [All-Union Society of Inventors and Efficiency Experts] in our republic the active participation in the nationwide struggle for the further increase in labor productivity on the basis of the acceleration of the introduction of innovations, the complete mechanization and automation of production processes, and the reduction of manual labor in all branches of the national economy. Without a doubt, a place in this noble work must also be found by the trade-unions and the Komsomol -- especially with regard to the organizing the socialist competition in this area.

Summing up the analysis of the problems in the technical re-equipping of the production base in our republic, it is necessary to isolate three key questions:

- 1) the maximum use of capital investments for the technical re-equipping and remodeling of the existing production entities, instead of building new ones with

the mandatory guaranteeing of the accelerated renovation of the fixed production assets, the increase in the return on investments, and the protection of the environment. This work should be headed by Gosplan, jointly with Gosstroy and the ministries and departments in the republic;

2) the work of all the engineering services of the ministries, departments, associations, and enterprises should be directed toward the effective introduction into production of progressive technological processes, means of mechanization and automation (equipment with programmed control; complexes of robot technology; microprocessor technology), and the introduction of the scientific organization of labor in all labor collectives with the purpose of accelerating the increase in labor productivity and guaranteeing by means of that the entire increase in the national income, the increase in the meaningful value of labor, and the reduction of manual labor;

3) the training and retraining of scientists, engineer-technical workers, and specialists at the republic's enterprises in conformity with the specific requirements of scientific-technical progress; the development of the socialist initiative and competency of our cadres.

This complicated work must be headed by Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor], Minvuz [Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education], and the Institute for Refresher Courses for Administrative Workers, and must be supported and organized locally by the party and Soviet agencies.

During the years of the Soviet authority, a considerable scientific potential was created in ESSR. That potential is capable of resolving the complicated scientific-technical and socioeconomic tasks.

Science has become one of the major spheres of the national economy. It employs approximately 20,000 persons, including 298 doctors and 2806 candidates of sciences. The number of scientific institutions and research institutes is continuing to grow. During recent years alone the following have been created: the Institute of Chemical and Biological Physics, ESSR Academy of Sciences; NII [Scientific-Research Institute] of Economics and Planning, ESSR Gosplan; and Institute of Cardiology, ESSR Ministry of Health. The material-technical base of science is becoming constantly stronger.

Although the leading organization in our republic's science is ESSR Academy of Sciences, considerable manpower and means have been concentrated in the branch scientific institutions.

The republic's scientists are carrying out a considerable amount of work to achieve the further expansion and deepening of the research on the natural laws underlying the development of nature and society. The efforts of researchers working in various areas of science have been concentrated on the implementation of approximately 60 nationwide scientific-technical programs. Jointly with the scientists at the scientific centers in Moscow, Leningrad, and the union republics, projects are being carried out in the area of biotechnology, laser technology, the complete use of natural resources, and other directions, which determine scientific-technical progress in our country's national economy.

Under the leadership of the ESSR Academy of Sciences, work is being carried out in accordance with ten republic-level scientific-technical programs that are directed at the resolution of very important scientific-technical and economic problems and the broad application in the national economy of the achievements of science and technology. But the chief area in the activities of the ESSR Academy of Sciences continues to be fundamental research, the volume of which occupies approximately two-thirds of all the projects.

Our republic's scientists and specialists are participating actively in the resolution of such important questions as the development and introduction of new effective methods of extracting and processing shales; the creation and development of the production and application of effective chemical and biological means that are safe for humans and for the environment, for use in protecting plants from pests and for combatting weeds; and the complete use of phosphorites. The technological scheme has been developed and is being assimilated for the biosynthesis of prostaglandins -- biologically active substances that are employed in medicine, agriculture, and other branches. Microprocessor systems for automation and computer means are being developed. These directions in science will continue to be the leading ones in the future.

Many projects carried out by our scientists have been highly appreciated. In 1980 the USSR State Prize for the planning and introduction of powerful electric-power stations operating on shales was awarded to a collective of originators which included ESSR Academy of Sciences Academician, Comrade Epik; director of the Estonian GRES, Comrade Senchugov; former chief of Estonglavenergo, Comrade Aman; and others. In 1981 the Gold Medal imeni Lebedev of the USSR Academy of Sciences was awarded to Academician K. Rebane. In 1983-1984 the USSR Council of Ministers Prize was awarded to a group of associates at the NIL [scientific-research laboratory] imeni Seppo and TPI [Tallinn Polytechnical Institute], to construction planners and builders of the TGU [Tallinn State University] library, and Estonslanets miners. Many scientists have been awarded ESSR State Prizes.

During recent years we have succeeded to a certain extent in bringing scientific research closer to the needs of social practice, and in directing the cadres to a meaningful search for new organizational forms for the integration of science and production. There has been an increase in the volume and percentage of projects carried out on the basis of economic contracts. In 1983 they constituted at institutions of ESSR Academy of Sciences 34.5 percent of the total value of all the projects. In the republic's institutions of higher learning, the share of projects based on economic contracts is even higher -- 79 percent.

The fusion of science and production has required a considerable reinforcement of the intermediate link in the form of design bureaus, experimental bases, and experimental plants. There has been an increase in the percentage of this link in the expenditures for science and the number of the persons employed in it. The SKB [Special Design Bureau] of Computer Technology, of the Institute of Cybernetics, has been created at ESSR Academy of Sciences. The projects developed by that bureau have already found application in the national economy. The Experimental Plant for Organic Synthesis and Biopreparations, of the Institute of Chemistry, has been engaged in the introduction of the results of scientific research in the area of the means of protecting plants, especially pure substances employed in the branches of the national economy and in science. This tendency in development will also be included in the plans for the 12th Five-Year Plan.

At the same time, all the scientific institutions and institutions of higher learning, and all the branch planning and designing bureaus and technological organizations, are not yet working with the proper return on their efforts. As a result of the poor party supervision and the low demandingness, the plans for scientific-research and experimental operations are not always executed. But the main thing lies in the fact that make poor use of the efforts of the scientists for resolving the acute and urgent questions that arise in the branches of our republic's national economy.

For example, at the Narva Building Materials Combine one still observes an unfavorable situation with regard to the technological aspects of the production of construction parts; equipment is needed for a new technological line; and in the branch institute of NIPisilikatobeton the projects for the combine constituted in 1983 only 5 percent of the total plan; and for the entire republic branch of building materials, only approximately 8 percent. Similar examples could be cited for many of the branch institutes.

An analysis carried out during the preparation for this meeting of activists indicated that at the present time more than half the scientific research is being carried out for subject matter that does not have anything to do with the questions of developing the republic's economy. And this is at a time when the resolution of a number of acute republic-level problems is being carried out at unsatisfactory rates. One could also expect better of the effective introduction of scientific developments into practice.

The interesting results of projects to diagnose virus diseases of potatoes, which results were obtained by scientists at the Institute of Chemical and Biological Physics, ESSR Academy of Sciences, have not yet been seriously considered by agricultural scientists or specialists.

It is necessary to concentrate, to a greater degree than has been the case, the efforts of our scientific potential on the resolution of the vitally important problems of developing the republic. This pertains first of all to the branch scientific institutions, such as NIPisilikatobeton, the Shale Institute, the Scientific Research Institute of the TEZ imeni M. I. Kalinin Association, the NII of Vegetable Husbandry and Land Reclamation, the NII of Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Science, etc.

Questions that require more attention and responsibility are those pertaining to the protection of the environment, including the development and introduction of technological processes with small amounts of waste products or no waste products.

In this direction we have had definite results. The Institute of Chemistry, ESSR Academy of Sciences, jointly with the fishing kolkhoz imeni S. M. Kirov, developed a technological process for producing hair shampoo from waste products of fish canning. The same kolkhoz has created and is successfully operating a unique unit for manufacturing from fish waste products a milk substitute for feeding calves and young pigs.

But, unfortunately, we also have examples of a different kind. As long ago as 1970 TPI developed a technological process that makes it possible to reclaim the basic polluting substance in starch production -- cell fluid -- and to produce

from it a rich protein fodder. However, that technological process is not finding broad application and is being used only on the Payuzi and Viru Kolkhozes.

More to accelerate the introduction of scientific-technical innovations could be done by our branch technological-design organizations. However, they have been working insufficiently on questions of using the new progressive technological processes and means of mechanization and automation. A considerable place in their activity continues to be occupied by operations that deal with the preparation of reports and statements, and other operations that pertain to the functions of the apparatus of the ministries and departments.

An increase in the effectiveness of the work being done is also expected from the system of scientific-technical information, headed by the corresponding institute of ESSR Gosplan, as well as the expansion and deepening of scientific-technical propaganda.

I would especially like to mention economic science. The "Comprehensive Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of ESSR for 1966-2005" was developed under the aegis of the Institute of Economics, ESSR Academy of Sciences, and was approved in 1986 by the ECP Central Committee and the ESSR Council of Ministers. This is a regional division of the corresponding nationwide program. A large amount of very important work has been carried out. The program provides for the accelerated development of science in the republic during the forthcoming 20-year period. However, many of the key problems of economics have not been resolved in the program that was mentioned.

Economic science has been called upon to reveal the underlying regularities that are inherent in society, to fuse the theoretical developments into concrete recommendations, and to exert a more active influence upon economic practice. At the same time the content and rate of results of the scientific-research activity in this area do not yet meet the requirements in our republic, which requirements were assigned for economic science by the 26th CPSU Congress, the subsequent Plenums of the party's Central Committee, and the March 1984 decree of the CPSU Central Committee that was specially devoted to the activity of the Institute of Economics, USSR Academy of Sciences. We have still an insufficiently high level of developments dealing with questions of the effectiveness of production under conditions of its intensive development and the acceleration of scientific-technical progress.

Recently a board of experts carried out an evaluation of the effectiveness of economic research projects carried out on the basis of contracts at the Institute for Refresher Courses for Administrative Workers. That evaluation indicated an increase in the cost of the projects, the excessive fragmentation of the subject matter, and the low value to scientific practice. And yet the volume of the contract projects exceeds 600,000 rubles.

Hence one comes to the conclusion: ESSR Academy of Sciences and the scientific subdivisions of the republic's institutions of higher learning must carry out more thorough research on the key questions of increasing the effectiveness of production, the fundamental increase in labor productivity, and problems of scientific-technical progress and the economics of science, the acceleration of the introduction into the national economy of fundamentally new technology and

technological processes, and the methods and forms for developing the creative participation of the masses. It is necessary to show more decisiveness in suggesting to practical workers new organizational structures of administration, and measures to reinforce cost-accounting relations. During 1976-1983 the scientific institutions of ESSR Academy of Sciences suggested for introduction into the national economy 302 projects. Of them (including those that are still in the stage of introduction), only 167 have been introduced, that is, almost half the completed projects have not been employed for a prolonged period of time and have not been giving society the expected benefit.

Thus, the chief problems in the activity of increasing the effectiveness of the work performed by the scientific institutions and deepening the integration between production and science must be deemed to be:

1) the concentration of scientific manpower and means on the development of the key questions of scientific-technical progress in the republic's economy, including the preparation of a list of the scientific research and experimental-design projects that are most needed by the national economy, the increasing of their rate of results and effectiveness, and the formation of a precise system of administering science in the republic. This work must be headed by ESSR Gosplan with the participation of ESSR Academy of Sciences and the republic's ministries and departments;

2) the creation of an effective mechanism for introducing into production the scientific and experimental-design projects; the increasing of the share of output requiring the expenditure of scientific efforts in the republic's industry. This work must be carried out primarily by the republic's production ministries and departments;

3) the further reinforcement of the experimental base and experimental production for developing science in the republic, having in mind the leading position of ESSR Academy of Sciences, the development of the cooperative use of expensive scientific equipment, instruments, and technology by all the scientific organizations. This work must be headed by ESSR Academy of Sciences.

Almost a year has passed since the issuance of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers concerning the acceleration of scientific-technical progress in the national economy. During that time much has been done in the direction of locating research for our economy, with the use of the measures that were specified in that decree. "For the time being, we have succeeded in achieving the improvement of the economic indicators basically as a result of the reserves that are found, so to speak, under our hand, on the surface," Comrade K. U. Chernenko said at a meeting with the voters of Kuybyshevskiy Rayon in Moscow. Therefore we have ahead of us a tremendous amount of work in mobilizing the deep-seated reserves for the intensification of production. New opportunities for this are also opened up by the decisions that were passed at the recently concluded Economic Meeting of the CEMA member countries in Moscow.

We are convinced that our entire engineering service, our scientists, and our public, under the guidance of the party organizations, will cope with this task and will include in the draft version of the plan for the republic's economic and social development for the 12th Five-Year Plan and will subsequently implement all those assignments that were formulated in the decree issued by the party and the government.

REGIONAL

NABIYEV ON ROLE OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 10 Jun 84 p 1

[Speech by Deputy R. N. Nabyev]

[Text] Dear Comrade Deputies:

The 10th Session of the republic's Supreme Soviet is concluding its work. Problems of great state importance were submitted for its consideration. It is a question of further enhancing the role of the soviets of people's deputies in implementing socioeconomic tasks and the Basic Directions of the Reform of General Educational and Vocational Schools in the light of the resolutions of the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, latest convocation.

In expressing the will of the working people, reporters and speakers talked of the warm approval of the resolutions of the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the USSR Supreme Soviet session and the instructions issued by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, which are an inspiring program for new constructive accomplishments and on how to implement them more rapidly. The basic stipulations of the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum on further improving the work of the soviets of people's deputies should become the foundation of our entire work. We must persistently see to it that the local soviets and their executive committees, as the state leading bodies, work on behalf of the working people, systematically resolving all governmental affairs with the broad support of the thousands-strong aktiv of people's deputies, elected by the people. We must enhance the efficiency in soviet activities and eliminate all elements of formalism. This, Comrade K. U. Chernenko said, is the demand of the day. Our duty, comrade deputies, is to fulfill it honorably.

Naturally, this problem must be resolved on all levels. Unquestionably, this major project must be headed above all by the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers. The CP of Tajikistan Central Committee Buro is counting on the fact that they will take up these important matters under their special supervision and will reorganize their entire work in the light of the requirements of the party and the instructions of Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

The primary duty of the soviets of people's deputies in the republic and of their executive organs, the speaker stressed, is to ensure the strict implementation of the plans for economic and social development for all indicators.

As a whole, the republic completed the first 3 years of the five-year plan satisfactorily. The results of the first 5 months of this year also confirm that all national economic sectors are developing dynamically. Plans for the marketing of industrial output, transportation and communications were overfulfilled. The volumes of trade, consumer services and use of capital investments have increased; the installation of productive capital is growing. Production and procurement of agricultural commodities has increased. However, the situation is still not such, as was aptly pointed out by Comrade K. U. Chernenko at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, as to enable us to do without further increasing the stress of our economic work. We must insist on this even more today, at the crucial point of the five-year plan, the end of which is near.

In order to achieve the best possible results and to tighten up lagging production areas and some sectors, capital construction in particular, we must work better and see to it that each labor collective is fulfilling its state plans and its socialist obligations.

In the final account, it is always people who determine the success of a project, those who create material goods. However, in order for their constructive toil to be more efficient and more productive, it is very important to ensure suitable working conditions. This concept essentially includes everything which creates in a person a good mood and the desire to work even more productively. It includes working and living conditions, the organization and standards of the production process, availability of housing and children's preschool institutions and the work of the entire service area, i.e., trade, public catering, transportation, communal services, communications, health care, public education and cultural institutions. Briefly stated, this includes everything included in the complex urban or rayon economy with which the local soviets and their executive committees must deal directly.

These problems have been frequently and quite sharply discussed at party committee plenums, sessions of soviets of people's deputies and meetings of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers. Resolutions have been passed and specific steps earmarked to improve the work in all such directions. Now it is a question of their implementation. Here again the local soviets have an exceptionally broad field of activities.

In resolving the problems of the comprehensive development of the local economy, related to improving services to the working people, the soviets must firmly block departmentalism, particularly in satisfying the steadily growing needs of the population.

The soviets of people's deputies must act as the full masters of their territory. They must display the necessary persistence in exercising their rights, not only in relations with republic ministries and departments, whose enterprises operate on the territory of the rayon or the city, but also with enterprises and organizations under union jurisdiction.

Everything must be closely coordinated regardless of departmental or production jurisdiction.

Let us point that the republic's Supreme Soviet and the local soviets have begun of late to exercise their constitutional rights and prerogatives more fully. Their role has been enhanced in the implementation of the state plans for the economic and social development of the oblast, the cities and rayons, in providing services and meeting the demands of the population. The experience of some rayon, settlement and village soviets, which have actively undertaken to implement the assignments formulated at the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, is noteworthy. Many of them are improving their workstyle and methods in the light of the new requirements. They are strengthening their ties with the population and making efficient use of accountability reports submitted by executive committees. They are improving citizens' receptions. Regular information is being provided on implementing the resolutions of soviets and voters' instructions as well as critical remarks and suggestions expressed at the sessions.

Nevertheless, as was pointed out at the 17th CP of Tajikistan Central Committee Plenum, the tremendous possibilities of the soviets of people's deputies are still being insufficiently used. This precisely is the explanation for the major shortcomings found in their activities.

Some executive committees of local soviets are slow in reorganizing their work. They continue to exercise poorly their rights in managing subordinate management authorities, maintaining public order and observing socialist legality. The necessary persistence in the struggle for the strict implementation of state plans by each industrial enterprise, kolkhoz and sovkhos and for improving the work of construction organizations and enterprises in transportation, the communal economy, trade and consumer services to the population is still not being displayed.

Let us take as an example the building of schools, children's preschool establishments and vocational-technical schools. Extensive work is being done in this area. Between 1981 and 1983 schools for nearly 73,000 students, children's preschool establishments for 13,000 children and vocational-technical schools for 5,600 students were built with the help of all financing sources. Plans for the commissioning of such facilities have been systematically fulfilled in recent years in Leninabad Oblast. For the republic as a whole, however, the pace of such construction is unsatisfactory. Over the past 3 years schools for 8,600 students have not been entirely completed; the plan for commissioning children's preschool institutions and vocational-technical schools were not fulfilled.

Similar examples could be cited for many other economic sectors, particularly in population services. Clearly, the reason for all this is that some executive committees and their leaders do not sufficiently and specifically deal with resolving specific problems. They are unfamiliar with the real situation in their territory and sometimes make a clear effort to shift their assignments to the party organizations and various supernumerary staffs and commissions. The author cited as proof specific examples from the work of a number of urban and rayon executive committees of soviets of people's deputies, whose leaders head several commissions each.

A variety of facts reveal the existence of a formalistic attitude on the implementation of resolutions passed by superior party and soviet organs, R. N. Nabiyev went on to say. Frequently very important decrees relative to satisfying the needs of the working people are simply passed for execution without any specific accompanying measures.

As Comrade G. P. Pallayev accurately pointed out in his speech, a major shortcoming in the work of the local soviets is their inability fully to energize the activities of the elective soviet aktiv which numbers tens of thousands of deputies, thousands of permanent commissions and hundreds of deputy groups. In addition to them, a large detachment of people's controllers exists and house-building, district and village committees are at work. It is they precisely which offer tremendous unused possibilities of improving our entire work, our economic activities above all.

Thousands of deputies of local soviets are working with dedication in the national economy. Many of them set the example. They overfulfill their obligations and make major contributions to the development of the economy, science and culture. They actively participate in the work of the soviets and in public life. Comrade R. N. Nabiyev cited cases of passive attitude toward obligations on the part of individual deputies, avoidance of public life and lack of necessary persistence in implementing voters' instructions. The speaker drew the attention of the deputies to the need to strengthen their ties with the masses and to energize their work and discuss the role of the soviets and their executive committees in the practical implementation of the Food Program. The republic's rayon agroindustrial association employs about 800 highly skilled specialists, many of whom are deputies. They must resolve the problems which arise and make efficient use of state capital investments in the development of the entire agroindustrial complex.

However, some soviets and their executive committees, managers of departments and administrations and specialists are still showing inertia in their work. For lack of necessary control capital investments are not fully used. A large number of farms are failing to meet their production and procurement plans.

Let us consider the important question of using cost accounting and the brigade contracting method in agriculture. The republic has acquired some experience in this area. However, this progressive labor organization method is being poorly used in many republic kolkhozes and sovkhoses, as was justifiably pointed out at the all-union economic conference on problems of the agroindustrial complex.

What is the hindrance here? It is found mainly in the passive attitude, the low level of economic thinking of some managers and specialists. Yet the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhoses have set up a total of 1,470 brigades, more than 20 percent of which are headed by deputies of the supreme and local soviets.

Who if not they should pioneer the use of new and progressive work means and methods? Unfortunately, currently the progressive contracting system has been applied only by 456 brigades headed by deputies.

The task of the soviets of people's deputies and the agroindustrial associations is rapidly to convert to the new progressive labor methods. Their advantages must be skillfully demonstrated and the people must become interested in end results and, on this basis, improve labor productivity and reduce agricultural production costs.

Concern for the Soviet person holds permanently the attention of party, soviet and economic bodies. The party is following a systematic course of upgrading the material and cultural standards of the people. The national income is increasing steadily and so is the real per capita income. Housing and cultural construction are developing on an unparalleled scope. Problems related to improving food supplies to the population are being resolved. Consumer services are being perfected. All of these changes are positively influencing the mood of the working people.

Like all Soviet people, the working people of Tajikistan are well familiar with the tremendous organizational and political work which the party is doing to strengthen the economic and defense power of our homeland and to safeguard and consolidate peace on earth.

Incomplete work on such problems on the part of the local soviets is totally inadmissible against the background of this tremendous party work. The working people cannot tolerate a bureaucratic and formalistic approach to phenomena such as improper allocation of housing, shortcomings in transportation and communal services and other negative facts. Such problems could be resolved directly on the spot considerably better and without any particular outlays by adopting a responsive and attentive attitude.

However, they are not being resolved everywhere, which forces the citizens to submit petitions to various authorities.

Last year and during the first 5 months of 1984 alone the republic's working people sent many letters to the CP of Tajikistan Central Committee, the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the republic's Council of Ministers. A similar situation prevails in the area of citizen's reception.

A study of the nature of the letters sent by the working people confirms the fact that the absolute majority of the questions raised and the demands could and should be resolved by the local soviet and economic authorities. Suffice it to say that one-quarter of them deal with housing problems and a significant percentage are about improving the work of communal enterprises, transportation and consumer services.

Bearing in mind the great shortage of housing, it is particularly intolerant for some local soviets poorly to maintain available housing, unconcerned with its preservation and prompt repairs, the speaker went on to say. In recent years virtually all republic oblasts, cities and rayons have failed to use the funds allocated for such purposes.

The faulty practice of making irresponsible promises which are not subsequently kept, rather than considering complaints in detail and taking the

necessary steps, is being all too slowly eliminated by many executive committees and state establishments. A great deal of formalism prevails in organizing the reception of citizens. Sluggishness in taking real steps to deal with the heart of complaints is still extant, thus leading to repeated petitions.

The soviets of people's deputies, economic managers and officials must assume a more responsive and attentive attitude toward citizens' letters and petitions. Cases of formalism, bureaucratism and red tape or inattentive attitude toward the people must not be allowed to occur.

The work of the soviets involves many other important areas. Particularly important among them are the implementation of the party's policy in molding the new person and observing the rules of socialist community life. The soviet authorities must firmly struggle against anything which conflicts with developing in the people high political consciousness and social standards.

It is a question above all of increasing the struggle against delinquency and other manifestations incompatible with the principles of our society.

We must decisively increase our struggle against delinquencies in all directions and energize the work of the public and the law enforcement organs.

As Comrade K. M. Makhkamov emphasized, the soviets face important assignments in their systematic and purposeful implementation of the reform of the general education and vocational schools, R. N. Nabiyeu said. Specific steps for the implementation of the reform's basic directions were formulated in the recent CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees.

Means for the implementation of resolutions were discussed and concretized at recent plenums of the CP of Tajikistan Central Committee and oblast, city and rayon party committees and sessions of local soviets of people's deputies. Now all depends on the practical actions which will be taken to support the planned measures.

The school reform is not a one-time measure. It will cover the span of two five-year plans. Already today, however, we must conduct this work in such a way that the strategic line followed in the reform, which must raise to a qualitatively new level the work of general education and vocational schools, be followed during all the stages.

Making decisive improvements in the labor training and upbringing of school students is a basic feature of the reform. A crucially important problem is being resolved: to give the young people a thorough general education and vocational training which will ensure their active work in the various economic sectors.

It must be clearly understood that the school can decisively improve labor training and upbringing only with the help of the production collectives. Together with the Ministry of Education and the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Training, the executive committees of the local soviets

must already now consider assigning general education and vocational-technical schools to base enterprises which, together with the schools, must assume responsibility for organizing student labor training.

In defining the basic directions in the reform of general education and vocational schools, the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government drafted a set of measures aimed at significantly improving work with public education cadres. They are imbued with profound and truly Leninist concern for the people's teachers and the comprehensive molding of the personality of the Soviet educator. The executive committees of the local soviets and the public education authorities and institutions must systematically implement the party's line in this important project, the speaker emphasized.

It must be pointed out that every year more than 4,500 specialists enter our public education system, the overwhelming majority of whom are assigned to rural schools. Nevertheless, today we are forced to mention the shortage of education cadres. This is a consequence of the fact that in some areas insufficient concern is still being shown for the efficient utilization and consolidation of education cadres and improving their working and living conditions.

We are particularly concerned with the high turnover of education cadres in Dushanbe and Nurek and Leninskiy, Garmskiy and Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy rayons and individual rayons in Kurgan-Tyube, Kulyab and Leninabad oblasts. It is high time to resolve this problem.

The implementation of the large-scale school reform program assigns priority to improving public education management. The Ministry of Education, the State Committee for Vocational-Technical Training and the executive committees of the local soviets must take effective steps to improve the style and methods of their work, to ensure the efficient coordination of activities of all units within the management apparatus and to strengthen the city and rayon public education departments with initiative-minded and competent specialists. All problems related to the reform must be resolved with high efficiency, without delay, bearing in mind that this is a nationwide undertaking.

In paying attention to problems with which local soviets must deal, let us particularly emphasize that their success largely depends on the efficiency and purposefulness with which this work will be carried out on all levels, starting with the republic's supreme soviet and ending with settlement and village soviets. We must be concerned with this even more so now, when the time remaining to the next elections is short.

This year is special to us, Comrade R. N. Nabiyeu emphasized. The Tajik Republic and Communist Party will be celebrating their 60th anniversary. The republic's working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia are welcoming this noted anniversary as a celebration of friendship and the triumph of the Leninist national policy within the fraternal multinational family of Soviet peoples, in an atmosphere of high labor and political upsurge. The Tajik working people are full of pride for their republic's tremendous accomplishments in political socioeconomic and spiritual life.

As we prepare to celebrate this noteworthy anniversary, we must continue to increase labor intensity on a daily basis. We must work with a particular feeling and maximal returns. This event must be felt literally everywhere-- at work, in improving cities and settlements and in the appearance of the peoples themselves. Everything possible must be done to catch up with the lag and to overfulfill socialist pledges, thus please our beloved homeland with suitable labor gifts during the anniversary year (applause). The CP of Tajikistan Central Committee is confident that the local soviets, their executive organs, the deputies and all working people in the republic, guided by the party organizations, will dedicate all their strength to coping with honor with this responsible patriotic task.

In conclusion, Comrade R. N. Nabiyeu emphasized that the 2-day work of this session was highly saturated and proved the high-level activeness of its participants. The speakers expressed many good and valuable thoughts. They made specific suggestions and critical remarks. An efficient and interested exchange of views was held.

The republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers will be required to sum up attentively and to study and consider in their activities all of this. A great deal must be reflected in the decrees of the Supreme Soviet session, which will become a specific program for action for all of us (applause).

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REGIONAL

UZBEK CP CC BURO DISCUSSES WORK WITH PROPAGANDA, ECONOMIC ATTITUDES

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 28 Jun 84 p 1

[Text] At its regular meeting, the Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro examined the question of the activities of the Surkhandarinsky party obkom, in connection with the organization of mass-agitational work in the countryside in light of the decisions of the CPSU CC 26th Party Congress and the June Plenum (1983). Political agitation among the agricultural workers is conducted in close connection with the search for new ways of managing agricultural production. In recent years, on all of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the oblast over 3,000 self-supporting contract brigades and teams have been established. This has allowed for not only a significant increase in labor productivity but also has become a real means of inculcating people with a business like attitude toward their work, contemporary economic thinking, a striving for that which is new, and high moral qualities. Mass-agitational work, in connection with maintaining the development of collective contracting, helps the brigades to better utilize the land and technology, it is conducive to the struggle against deceit, the padding of accounts, and other negative phenomena. The Buro stressed the necessity of continually perfecting the style and methods of educational activity in the countryside, of raising the responsibility of the ideological cadres, of further relying on the cultural-social establishments and strengthening the atheistic direction of agitation.

A resolution on measures for the further improvement of the training of cadres in the institutes of higher education in the arts was passed. A number of ministries and departments of the republic were instructed to fulfill a plan of comprehensive measures for the preparation of the artistic cadres, taking into account the development of the institutions of culture and art for the period up through 1995. Provisions are being made for the further strengthening of the material-technical base of the educational establishments, the improvement of instruction, the publication of needed literature and the making of educational films.

A plan for immediate organizational-political and propagandistic measures for carrying out the decisions of the 16th Uzbek CP CC Plenum has been approved.

The Uzbek CP CC Plenum considered several other questions concerning party leadership of economic and cultural development about which resolutions have been passed.

REGIONAL

LITHUANIAN PLENUM VIEWS EDUCATION REFORM, WORK OF SOVIETS

Information Report on Plenum

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 30 May 84 p 1

[Article: "Information Report on the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania," published in abridged form]

[Text] A regular plenum, the 14th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania [LiCP] was held in Vilnius on 29 May.

The plenum discussed the results of the April 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the tasks of the republic's party organization that evolve from the Plenum's decisions and the statements by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade K. U. Chernenko at the Plenum and the 1st Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation.

A report was given by First Secretary of the LiCP Central Committee P. O. Girshkyavichus.

Participants in the discussion on the report included First Secretary of the Kaunas City Committee of LiCP R. P. Rimaytis; Second Secretary of the Vilnius City Committee of LiCP V. S. Klikunene; First Secretary of Pasval'skiy Rayon Committee of LiCP S. I. Bartkus; multiple-equipment operator at the Azot Production Association in Ionava N. G. Mironov; LiSSR Minister of Education V. P. Spurga; First Secretary of the Shilutskiy Rayon Committee of the LiCP Yu. A. Ul'ba; Chairman of the LiSSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education V. A. Morkunas; chairman of the executive committee of the Klaypeda City Soviet of People's Deputies A. I. Zhalis; and First Secretary of the Lazdiyskiy Rayon Committee of the LiCP K. K. Stontselis.

Chief of the Science and Educational Institutions Department of the LiCP Central Committee V. A. Medvedev spoke at the plenum, and Responsible Worker of the CPSU Central Committee N. T. Konyayev took part in the work of the plenum.

The plenum adopted the decrees "The Results of the April 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Tasks of the Republic's Party Organization Which

evolve from Its Decisions and the Statements of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade K. U. Chernenko at the Plenum and the 1st Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation" and "Immediate Measures for Carrying Out the Decree of the April 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee Entitled 'The Basic Directions for the Reform of the General-Educational and Vocational School System.'"

Thereupon the plenum of the LiCP Central Committee completed its work.

Girshkyavichus Plenum Speech

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 30 May 84 pp 1-3

[Speech: "Toward New Achievements in Communist Creation: Report by First Secretary of the LiCP Central Committee, Comrade P. O. Girshkyavichus at the 14th Plenum of the LiCP Central Committee"]

[Text] Dear comrades!

The Communists and workers of our republic, like the rest of the Soviet citizens, find themselves at the present time under the profound impression of the decisions of the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 1st Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation. The beneficial effect of these historic decisions finds its brilliant expression in the high level of labor and political enthusiasm that currently prevails in the collectives in all branches of the national science, and culture in our republic. The workers of Soviet Lithuania, the Communists and non-party members, have met with unanimous approval the election of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko as Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This document enacted by the supreme agency of state authority in the Country of Soviets contains the expression of the worthy recognition of the tremendous merits and authority of Comrade K. U. Chernenko as an outstanding figure in the Communist Party and the Soviet state, an inflexible fighter for communism and peace, and a well-tested Leninist-type leader.

Comrade K. U. Chernenko's speech at the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has become a political document of exceptional importance and a guide for action for the party and the Soviet nation. The principles and conclusions in the speech, which were completely and entirely approved by the Plenum, mobilize the party and the nation for the fulfillment of the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress and define the basic directions for our country's political, socioeconomic, and public life.

In Comrade K. U. Chernenko's speech and in the decisions of the April Plenum, a large amount of attention was devoted to increasing the role of the Soviets in implementing the party policy, and to questions of carrying out, in their activity, the Leninist principle of the unity of legislation, administration, and control, and the further improvement of socialist democracy.

In the improvement of developed socialism, a decisive role is played by economics. It has been and continues to be the chief sphere of the creative activity of our party, the Soviets, and the entire Soviet nation. The persistent

struggle for the increase in the effectiveness of production and the quality of output; the taking of all steps to accelerate scientific-technical progress; the economizing of all types of resources; the implementation of the Food and Energy Programs; and the unconditional fulfillment of the plans for the fourth year of the five-year plan and the assignments of the five-year plan as a whole -- those are the tasks that must be constantly in the center of the daily attention of every party organization, every Soviet of People's Deputies, every labor collective.

In the development of our republic's national economy one continues to observe the process of the reinforcement of the positive tendencies that have been noted. In January-April, as compared with the same period last year, the increase in the volume of the production of industrial output came to 6.3 percent, as compared with 3.7 percent according to the yearly plan. Labor productivity increased by 5.6 percent, with a planned indicator of 2.6 percent. The increase in labor productivity accounted for 89 percent of the increase in the volume of industrial production.

The enterprises and organizations in construction, trade, and consumer services are working better than previously. Fewer claims are being made against the organizations of transport with regard to the providing of the customers with railroad cars and containers. There has been a decrease in the idle-time periods of transportation means being loaded and unloaded.

The half-yearly plan for purchases of livestock and poultry was fulfilled by 94 percent during 4.5 months; milk, by 68 percent; and eggs, 80 percent. The sale of these products to the state, as compared with the same period last year, increased respectively by 24.8 and 7 percent.

At the same time we cannot close our eyes to the fact that we still have a large number of unresolved questions, bottlenecks, and unused reserves and capabilities. Consequently, we must in no instance lessen the strenuousness in our work. "It will be correct," Comrade K. U. Chernenko pointed out at the Plenum, "if all of us, if each and every one of us, prohibit ourselves from easing up in any way. Anxiety -- and, one might even say, alarm -- concerning the state plan must not leave us for even a single minute. . . . We must hold people accountable more strictly than ever before for every disruption, for any unfinished jobs that we have allowed to occur this year."

Nor can our party position be any different when evaluating the work results of the republic's national economy. It must be stated clearly that not all our cadres have been observing these requirements properly. Three industrial enterprises -- the Mazheykyay Petroleum Refinery, the Mastis Knitwear Association in Telshyay, and the Utena Nonstandard Equipment Plant -- failed to fulfill the plan for the first four months for sale of output. Something that continues to be a weak link is the fulfillment of the sales plans with a consideration of the shipments of output based on contracts. Judged on the basis of the results of the first four months, 21 associations and enterprises remain in debt to their partners. The organizations that were responsible for the largest

undershipments were the Mazheykyay Petroleum Refinery and the Litrybprom and Azot Production Associations. Despite the above-plan increase of labor productivity for industry as a whole by 2.2 percent, eight associations and enterprises failed to cope with the plan for the first four months.

In a number of associations and enterprises, primarily the ministries of light industry, municipal services, and Goskomsel'khoshtekhnia, the plans for the reduction of production costs are not being fulfilled. There has been a lagging behind in the construction of certain projects destined for production and social-cultural purposes. The financial limits of capital investments have been incompletely used by half the ministries and departments. On the kol-khozes and sovkhozes there has been a reduction in the average daily weight increases of cattle and hogs being fattened. On the farms in some of the rayons there has been a reduction in the number of head of hogs and a considerable decrease in the number of piglets that are born. The plans for the first quarter for sale of livestock and poultry to the state were not fulfilled by 44 farms; and milk, nine farms.

There have also been substantial shortcomings in the work of other branches of the national economy. In order to eliminate them rapidly and efficiently, we must continue to raise the level of the organizational and political work in the labor collectives, intensify our demandingness toward the economic managers and to all the workers, and make more rigid demands on them with regard to maintaining order on the job and with regard to the state of labor and planning discipline.

The successful resolution of the socioeconomic program of the five-year plan largely depends upon the level of activity of the Soviets of People's Deputies at all levels, and upon the manner in which they carry out the constitutional functions and powers that have been entrusted to them. As the political basis of our state, they represent a powerful instrument of socialist construction. We have elected 28,760 deputies to the republic's Supreme Soviet and local Soviets. Two-thirds of them are workers in the material production sphere, and the others are employed in the services sphere, in institutions of education, science, culture, and directly at agencies of state administration. Ninety-two percent of the deputies have higher or secondary education; most of them are experienced specialists in various branches of the national economy and culture, and people who have been made wise by their rich life and political experience. Judged on the basis of their national makeup, the deputies to the Soviets at all levels represent all the nationalities that reside on the territory of the republic.

In a word, the Soviets of People's Deputies are capable of guaranteeing the creative, initiatory work of the agencies of the people's authority in all areas of economic and cultural construction. Today one could cite a large number of examples of that kind of work. Nevertheless, as was noted at the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the tremendous potential of the Soviets is being used insufficiently.

In the work of many executive committees of the local Soviets one still sees evidence of the force of inertia, and the red-tape, official style of management. A large number of questions that are linked with the administration of the economy are discussed, but this is sometimes done in a formal

manner: decisions are made, but they are not always supported by the proper organizational work or by the supervision of execution.

The growing scope of economic and cultural construction require the Soviets of People's Deputies and their executive agencies to show much more initiative, a much higher level of efficiency, organization, and precision in their work. They have been called upon first of all to achieve the better coordination of the activity of the enterprises and organizations situated on their territory, irrespective of the department to which they belong. At such time the efforts of the Soviets must be subordinated primarily to the interests of the maximum satisfaction of the public's needs. These are, first of all, housing and social-cultural construction; and the improvement of the cities and rural settlements. They also include the search for local opportunities for increasing the production of consumer goods, and the development of trade, public nutrition, and the consumer services provided to the public. A very large amount can and must be done by the Soviets of People's Deputies in order to organize the proper operation of the medical institutions, schools, and transport, to improve the working and everyday living conditions of people and the mass-cultural work, and to create in every collective an atmosphere of intolerance toward any violations of legality or order.

In the resolution of these very important questions, the Soviets and their executive committee have been granted broad rights and powers. Unfortunately, many of them fail to demonstrate the proper aggressiveness and persistence in carrying them out. This, in its turn, leads to a situation, for instance, in which individual ministries and departments and managers of enterprises, by-passing the Soviets, concentrate their chief efforts in production construction, to the detriment of the construction of housing and projects intended for everyday and cultural purposes.

Certain city and rayon executive committees, in their turn, are failing to take the proper steps in order to assure that the allocated investments for nonproduction construction are used promptly and completely. For example, whereas, for the city of Alitus, and Raseynskiy, Lazdiyskiy, and Tauragskiy Rayons, the plans for the first three years of the five-year plan for activation of the fixed assets intended for production purposes as financed by state capital investments were completely fulfilled, those pertaining to assets for nonproduction purposes were fulfilled by only 78-90 percent. A considerable lag with regard to this indicator was allowed to occur in the city of Kapsukas, and Varenskiy, Plungeskiy, and certain other rayons.

Something that continues to be a weak spot is the construction of projects intended for municipal purposes. The plans for erecting them have been unfulfilled for a long period of time in the cities of Vilnyus, Klaypeda, and Alitus, in Yurbarkskiy, Kedaynskiy, Shakyayskiy, and a number of other rayons.

As was noted at the republic conference on problems of the agroindustrial complex, we still have a large number of kolkhozes and sovkhoses that are making poor use of their capabilities and that are continuing to lag behind in their economic development. This is a consequence primarily of the insufficient

responsibility borne by the managers and specialists at those farms for the job that has been assigned to them, and the low level of demandingness on the part of the local party and Soviet agencies toward them.

An important role belongs to the rayon and rural Soviets in carrying out the social reorganization of the rural areas. A large amount is being done in this area, but one also encounters substantial shortcomings. In certain rayons one can observe a gap between the successfully developing economy on the farm on the one hand, and the formation of modern rural settlements on the other. This pertains, in particular, to Prenayskiy Rayon, as was recently revealed when this question was being discussed at the Bureau of the LiCP Central Committee. This is a major omission on the part of the party's rayon committee, a major shortcoming in the activity of the executive committee of the rayon Soviet, and a miscalculation on the part of the corresponding republic-level agencies.

The plans for housing construction financed by state capital investments have not been fulfilled for a number of years in Shal'chininskiy, Shirvinskiy, Panevezskiy, and Vilkavishskiy Rayons. In Kaunasskiy, Moletskiy, and Tel'shyayskiy Rayons the financial limits for cooperative housing construction are not being used.

The construction in rural areas of kindergartens and nurseries has been lagging behind the assignments of the five-year plan, especially in Vil'nyusskiy, Vilkavishskiy, Kapsukskiy, Kedaynskiy, Kupishskiy, Moletskiy, and Radvilishskiy Rayons. A number of rayons are failing to fulfill the assignments for the construction of dining halls on kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The resolution of the problems that we are discussing today is of the most critical importance to the local Soviets and their executive committees. And we have the right to expect that the party committees will take exhaustive steps to increase their activity in this vitally important area. We must put an end to the instances that still occur, when the party's city and rayon committees take over the duties of the Soviets or exercise petty guardianship over them. This shackles the initiative of the Soviet workers and reduces their responsibility for the resolution of the tasks of economic and social development. It is necessary also to intensify the attention devoted to the selection, assignment, and indoctrination of the Soviet cadres.

In a word, as Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized at the Plenum, "it is necessary to use all methods of party influence upon the activity of the Soviets, in order to increase the effectiveness of that activity and to eliminate all elements of formalism." This requirement also pertains to the Communist deputies. They have been called upon to introduce an organizing principle into the work of the Soviets, to consolidate all the deputies around themselves, and to encourage and direct their creative participation.

The April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee directed attention toward the importance of improving the session activity, and the need to increase the rate of participation of the deputies at the Soviet sessions. Another weak place in the work of certain executive committees of the Soviets is the supervision and checking of execution. Insufficient use, in particular, is made of such an effective form of supervision as the deputy's inquiry. In a number of Soviets

no deputy inquiries have been raised for several years. For example, last year at sessions of the republic's local Soviets, a total of 710 inquiries were considered. And yet, during that time, the Central Committee and the LiCP city and rayon committees received written and oral statements from 16,500 persons, and in most instances they pertain to those questions that could not fail to be worthy of the attention of the people's deputies. This attests to the low level of participation by some of our deputies in expressing the interests of their voters.

The requirements for the improvement of the activity of the entire system of Soviet agencies also pertain in full measure to the work of the republic's Supreme Soviet. As a whole, during recent years there have been important positive changes in its work. The LiSSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium have begun to carry out their powers more actively. The decisions of the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee open up broad prospects for the further improvement of their work. It is necessary also to increase the rate of activity of the work performed by the permanent commission of the Supreme Soviet and the local Soviets.

Large and important tasks also confront the republic's Council of Ministers, especially with regard to improving the system and methods of managing the economy, in putting them into conformity with the present-day requirements. It will be necessary to carry out important work in resolving the problem of reducing the administrative apparatus. The Council of Ministers has an important role in organizing the precise, well-coordinated work of the entire state apparatus, which must serve as an example of an efficient, creative style of management and administration.

Comrade K. U. Chernenko devoted a large amount of attention in his speech to the school reform. This is brilliant proof of the unceasing concern shown by the Communist Party and the Soviet state for the fate of the younger generation and the future of our society.

At the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the results of the nationwide discussion of the draft version of the reform were summed up. In our republic alone, approximately 92,000 persons took part in that discussion; and more than 11,000 recommendations and comments were made. The workers and teachers in our republic unanimously approved the goals and basic principles of the reform. All this revealed once again the inviolable unity of the party and the nation, the large creative capabilities of socialist democracy, and the profound self-interest that the public has in improving the work of the schools.

In execution of the decisions of the Plenum of the Central Committee and the session of the Supreme Soviet, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a number of specific decrees which placed the necessary material and organizational base under the entire work of reorganizing the schools. Now it is necessary for us to mobilize all our efforts in order to implement these intentions of our party.

The agencies that must take the most active and most immediate participation in this matter are the republic's Council of Ministers and Gosplan, the

ministries of education, higher and secondary special education, and agriculture, and the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education.

In addition, in every city and rayon it is necessary to develop and approve specific plans for implementing the reform of the general-educational and vocational school system. It will be necessary, this very year, to carry out realistic measures to improve the educational and indoctrinational process, the labor instruction, and vocational guidance of the schoolchildren, and to reinforce the material-technical base of the general-educational schools and the vocational and technical schools.

The chief role in the successful carrying out of the reform has been assigned to the teacher.

A gradual increase in the salaries paid to workers in public education begins on 1 September. In our republic alone, the total amount of budgetary funds expended annually for these purposes will be 35-40 million rubles. It is also planned to devote a large amount of attention to improving the working and everyday living conditions for the pedagogical workers.

As a whole we have good cadres of teachers. At the same time, the present-day stage of development of the general-educational and vocational and technical schools are making newer and increased demands upon them.

The primary task of the party committees, the Soviets of People's Deputies, the agencies of public education, and the trade-union and Komsomol organizations currently consists in helping the teachers to become deeply aware of the need to bring about a decisive turning point in the schools, carrying out a fundamental improvement in the training of the upcoming generation. It is necessary to achieve a situation in which every teacher, indoctrinator, and expert in production training at a vocational and technical school has a completely definite idea of what he has to do, how, and by what deadline.

Right now it is necessary to take specific steps to achieve a fundamental improvement in the training of the pedagogical cadres. As was emphasized in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on this question, it is very important to concentrate the efforts of the pedagogical collectives and the party organizations of the higher and secondary special educational institutions that are training the pedagogical cadres upon the taking of all steps to raise the level of ideological and professional training of the specialists. It is necessary to strive consistently and persistently for a situation in which they all become active bearers of the party policy, people with a high civic duty, industriousness, moral purity, and broad erudition and culture.

The quantitative aspect of the question is also of importance. By the end of 1990 the number of teachers in the primary grades alone must increase by almost 2500 persons. Gosplan, the ministries of education and of higher and secondary special education, and the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education must adjust the plans for the training and assignment of specialists for the general-educational schools and the vocational and technical schools with a consideration of their reorganization that has begun. By next year

it will be necessary to expand the training of teachers, instructors, and experts in production instruction.

In the resolution of this task, the local party and Soviet agencies must also show a special self-interest. Every rayon and city must apply the maximum efforts to provide themselves with the necessary teacher cadres. Questions that must also be constantly in the center of attention of the party's city and rayon committees and the city and rayon executive committees are the questions of the permanent assignment of teachers and the providing of psychological and material incentives for them. We hope that, in order to provide recreation and medical treatment for the pedagogical workers, more places will be found by the trade unions, as well as the enterprises and organizations having at their disposal recreational sites and medical prevention and treatment institutions.

There has also been a change in the structure of education itself. The secondary general-educational school is becoming an eleven-year school, and in our republic, a twelve-year school. The fact that in schools with the Lithuanian and Polish language of instruction we are introducing the twelve-year instruction of the students is extremely noteworthy. This will make it possible to guarantee the better training of the younger generation for life, to intensify its ideological toughening, and to achieve a situation in which every student has a perfect mastery not only of his own native language, but also of Russian, which is the chief means of communication between Soviet citizens of different nationalities.

As a result of the change in the structure of education starting in 1986 it will be necessary to change over to the instruction of children starting at the age of 6 years, making active use at such time of the already available experience. At the present time more than 80 percent of the children who are 6 years of age are already attending preparatory classes and groups at schools and kindergartens. Gosplan, Ministry of Education, and the city and rayon executive committees now must carry out the specific measures for the successful changeover to universal instruction of children starting at the age of 6 years.

It is especially important to locate additional opportunities for expanding the network of preschool children's institutions in the rural areas and for opening preparatory groups in those institutions, and in rural schools, preparatory classes. Simultaneously it is necessary to guarantee the changeover to the instruction of 6-year-old children in accordance with a single curriculum; and prior to 1986 to complete the preparation and printing in a mass printing run of all the textbooks and teaching aids.

The second stage of the work in this direction will be the gradual changeover -- or, wherever necessary, the accelerated changeover -- of the 6-year-old children to the first grade in the general-educational school. For the most part this process will have to be completed by 1990.

One of the central questions in the reform is the fundamental improvement of the labor indoctrination and instruction of the upcoming generation. "The closer we bring the school and production together," Comrade K. U. Chernenko

remarked at the Central Committee Plenum, "the greater the benefit from the reform will be."

Much has already been done in our republic in this direction. With the aid of enterprises and organizations, the material base of labor instruction has grown and become stronger. Instructional shops have been created, and 34 interschool production-training combines are in operating. Nevertheless, the labor instruction and indoctrination of the students do not yet completely correspond to the party's requirements. We will have to do a lot in this area.

In conformity with the decree of the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee it is necessary to organize the systematic socially beneficial productive labor of the students in the general-educational schools. For these purposes the party and Soviet agencies will have to analyze within the present year the state of the existing material base for the vocational training of the students in the senior classes, and to plan specific measures for its further development. It is necessary to reconsider the areas of specialization in the labor training of the school students, and, with a consideration of the needs of the cities and rayons, to determine the spheres of application of the schoolchildren's labor and to think carefully about how to organize that labor.

The republic's Gosplan, the appropriate ministries and departments, and the city and rayon executive committees must plan and create in the various branches of the national economy the necessary quantity of work sites that have been equipped with modern equipment, for the organization of the productive labor of the students in the senior classes. And, most importantly, it is necessary to strive actively to assure that each such work site is of real benefit to society.

"It is precisely labor, rather than discussions about it, labor for the good of the Motherland," Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized at a meeting with the workers at the Serp i Molot Plant in Moscow, "which is the best-tested criterion of a person's political awareness." That instruction by the party must form the basis of all our work in improving the instruction and indoctrination of the younger generation.

From year to year we shall see an increase in the role of the vocational and technical schools. According to preliminary computations, in 1990 it will be necessary to send to secondary vocational and technical school 19,000 students, or 38 percent, and by 1995, as much as 40 percent of all the graduates from the incomplete secondary school.

Gosplan and the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education must plan and carry out specific measures for the resolution of this task.

It is necessary, especially in rural localities, to broaden the selection of specialties for girls, to intensify the concern for the creation of the necessary conditions for the permanent assignment of young people in the rural areas. The party, Soviet, and Komsomol agencies must engage even more aggressively in the resolution of these questions.

As was noted at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the party links with the reform the practical resolution of very important economic and cadre problems. This requires us to carry out more purposeful vocational-guidance work with the students and their parents. The broadest support must continue to be given everywhere to the undertaking of the graduates of the Pabyarzhskaya Secondary School, which undertaking was approved by the LiCP Central Committee. It is also necessary to continue to make it an active practice to hold rallies for graduates who have linked their fate with agricultural production, and to develop close cooperation between the general-educational schools and the vocational and technical schools, on the one hand, and the base enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes, on the other. In this work it is necessary to increase the role of the republic's State Committee for Labor, which has been given the responsibility of coordinating the entire activity involving vocational guidance for young people.

The reform of the general-educational and vocational school system will require the further development and qualitative improvement of the entire material base of education. The republic's Gosplan, the appropriate ministries and departments, and the city and rayon executive committees must precisely determine the bottlenecks in this area, and must make better use of the already existing material base irrespective of the department to which it belongs, for the instruction and indoctrination of young people.

The indoctrination of the schoolchildren in the performance of productive labor to the extent of their ability, despite the fundamental importance of that indoctrination, does not, of course, replace the truth that the chief labor for children is their schooling, their solid mastery of knowledge. In this regard it will be necessary for us to carry out a large number of organizational and pedagogical measures. It will be necessary to eliminate the extent to which the textbooks and aids are overloaded with material of secondary importance, to avoid the excessive complication of the material, and to promote greater activity in publicizing and introducing the advanced experience in organizing the training and indoctrinational process.

The ministries and departments that have educational institutions at their disposal, the party's city and rayon committees, and the primary party organizations must intensify their supervision to see how the pedagogical collectives are working under the conditions of carrying out the school reform, and must act promptly to notice any problems that arise and to help to resolve them. It is necessary to eradicate decisively any manifestations of formalism in the content or work methods in the school, and to evaluate its entire activity on the basis of the depth and solid assimilation of the knowledge, the ideological and moral properties of the students, and their preparation for life.

It will be necessary to take more purposeful and persistent steps to improve the quality of the indoctrinational work. It is especially important to intensify the way in which the instruction is directed toward the world's political situation and to increase the role of the subjects in the social studies and humanities cycle. The lessons in social sciences, history, and literature have been called upon to instill in the students the ability and the need to defend passionately their communist convictions, their ability to perform independent, creative actions, and to resolve practical tasks.

Large-scale tasks in the patriotic indoctrination of the younger generation, if the preparing of that generation for active participation in communist construction, for the defense of the socialist gains of the Soviet nation and peace on earth, were advanced by Comrade K. U. Chernenko in his brilliant and meaningful speech at the All-Army Conference of Secretaries of Komsomol Organizations. The principles and the conclusions that the speech has for our party, for the Leninist Komsomol, represent a combat program of actions in this very important area of activity.

The entire system of ideological-political indoctrination of the students, the entire social life of the school, must be oriented toward the indoctrination of each young person as an aware citizen of our Soviet society -- a consistent patriot and internationalist. More attention must be devoted at such time to the class toughening of the young students, making active use for this purpose of the remarkable examples of the revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions of the party and the nation.

The schools are introducing a number of new elective courses, including the following one for students in the senior classes: "The Present-Day Ideological Struggle and Youth," Simultaneously it will be necessary also to improve the time-tested elective course "Soviet Lithuania in the Family of Fraternal Nations," and to increase its effectiveness. All the measures to be carried out in the schools must have a clearly expressed ideological-political directedness, and must actively promote the instilling in the students of a lasting immunity to moods and views that are alien to us.

A problem that remains a vitally important and timely one is the problem of the moral and legal indoctrination of the students. The increase in the number of misdemeanors among minors that has been observed recently in our republic attests to the fact that our educational institutions sometimes are not coping with one of the most important tasks -- the development in the students of an inner need to live and work in accordance with the principles of communist morality. When improving the work in this direction, it is necessary to make more effective use of the entire indoctrinational charge available to pedagogical collectives and the party, Komsomol, and Pioneer organizations, and to do everything to encourage the development of student self-government and the social participation of the schoolchildren.

We have a large amount of positive experience in the close cooperation between general-educational and vocational schools and labor collectives. It is very important to multiply that experience and make active use of it, considerably increasing the role of the labor collectives and primarily their managers in the carrying out of the school reform and in increasing the responsibility borne by the parents for the indoctrination of their children. The party and trade-union organizations and the managers of the labor collectives must evaluate the activity of every worker not only on the basis of his production indicators, but also with a consideration of how he has been fulfilling his civic duties as a father or mother.

The CPSU Central Committee has required the raising of the level of party guidance of public education and the improvement of the work of the party organizations at the educational institutions. Every fourth teacher working

in the general-educational and vocational-and-technical schools in our republic is a party member. However, the party organizations of certain pedagogical collectives are small in size and are not exerting an effective influence upon the educational and indoctrinational process. It is necessary to take decisive steps to correct the situation. The increase in the combativeness of the party organizations at the general-educational and vocational schools is the primary task of the party's city and rayon committees.

The fulfillment of the decisions of the April 1984 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning the school system requires all the party, Soviet, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations, and agencies of public and vocational-and-technical education, to carry out a large amount of purposeful work. And the degree of organizational spirit and aggressiveness with which that work is carried out will determine the success of the job at hand and the final results of the instruction and indoctrination of the upcoming generation.

The April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 1st Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, have armed the party and the nation with concrete and clear landmarks in the work of implementing the current and long-term tasks of communist construction. Now it is important to make the content of the tasks that have been assigned completely clear to every Communist, every worker in the republic, to mobilize all the workers for their successful fulfillment.

Our party is entering a period of the direct preparation for its next session. And all our activity in all spheres of social life in connection with this event is replete with special meaning and taking on special importance.

Please allow me to assure the CPSU Central Committee that our republic's party organization and workers will do everything to fulfill and overfulfill the plans for the current year, will successfully complete the five-year plan, and will meet the 27th Congress of our Leninist party in a worthy manner.

5075

CSO: 1800/413

REGIONAL

ONE YEAR CORRECTIVE LABOR FOR SEVERED PHONE CABLE

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 3 July 1984 carries on page 3 a 300-word article by R. Yangurazov, head of the Tenth Territorial Center of the Administration of Communication Lines, USSR Ministry of Communication. The article appears under the rubric "Critical Signal" and bears the title "The Price of a Severed Cable." It discusses buried phone cables which are too frequently cut in digging operations by agricultural workers who pay no attention to the special verbal warnings and marker signs erected in the vicinity of intercity communication cables. Since the start of the current five-year plan losses caused by cable cuttings have exceeded 100,000 rubles.

"For damage to intercity cables on 26 December 1982 Kh. Sindarov and R. Sanakulov, tractor drivers from the "Ulugbek" Sovkhoz, were sentenced to one year of corrective labor with 20 percent of their monthly salaries deducted by the state. In retribution of damages they caused 7,000 rubles were exacted. For the same crime committed 29 June 1983 two workers from the "Izvestiya" Kolkhoz of Narpayskiy Rayon were censured and 5,450 rubles were exacted in payment of damages."

"Electric and phone lines, gas and water pipes, roads and other common use structures are installed on land that belongs exclusively to the state. Land located on cable tracts is not inviolable to the extent that it may not be used, but it must be used in accordance with state rules and regulations. And land users must answer for the preservation of cables and for all signs marking their routes."

CSO: 1830/594

REGIONAL

KIRGHIZ POET DECRIES NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF NATIVE TRADITIONS

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 22 Jul 84 carries on page 3 a 1,700-word article by Aaly Tokombayev, people's poet of Kirghiziya. He invites people to reconsider both the good and the bad of native traditions. The author first notes several of the more honorable traditions, such as reverence for elders and hospitality for strangers. However, he levels serious criticism at the almost-institutionalized excesses involved in wedding and funeral ceremonies and feasts. There is no doubt that people are better off at present, and therefore wish to mark important occasions in a more sumptuous fashion; he believes, however, that ridiculous sums of money are being expended by people who really do (or should) know the value of a kopeck. Furthermore, Tokombayev cites several examples of such lavishness, one in which guests, "having thrown away all duties, ate and drank for several days, and all the while made use of several government cars." He recalls the thirties, when Kirghiziya was an active center for atheist work; the present day does not fare well in comparison, with its upsurge in baptisms. A serious discussion of the problems surrounding tradition needs to take place; new socialist services should be created to counteract the detrimental effects of the old.

AFGHAN CHILDREN TO STAY MONTH IN KIRGHIZIYA

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 29 July 1984 page 1 carries a note describing a meeting of Afghan children and those who accompanied them with representatives of the trade unions, Komsomol, and educational organs of Kirghiziya. The children were met at the airport in Frunze with the traditional gifts of bread and salt. The leader of their group in turn thanked those present for the children's opportunity to rest in Kirghiziya; some 200 children will spend about 30 days at the pioneer camp "Builder."

CSO: 1830/604

REGIONAL

OMSK OBKOM CHIEF MANYAKIN ON PARTY COMMISSIONS' WORK

[Editorial Report] Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 14, July 1984 (signed to press 10 July 1984) carries on pages 23-27 a 3,000-word article entitled "We Are Increasing the Effectiveness of the Party Commissions' Work" by S. Manyakin, first secretary of the Omsk Obkom. Manyakin writes about the move to broaden the party commissions' sphere of activities, particularly in the areas of personnel training and discipline. He offers numerous examples of the commissions' efforts to combat mismanagement, drunkenness, and speculation.

MOSCOW OBKOM CHIEF KONOTOP ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK

[Editorial Report] Moscow POLITICHESKOY SAMOOBRAZOVANIYA in Russian No 6, June 1984 (signed to press 23 May 1984) carries on pages 64-67 a 1,600-word article entitled "The Effectiveness of Ideological Work Is at the Center of Attention of Party Organizations" by V. Konotop, first secretary of the Moscow Obkom. Konotop writes about raising the level of Marxist-Leninist training by improving party management of ideological work.

GAPUROV AT 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF ASHKHABAD AIRPORT

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 21 July 1984 on page 1 carries a 200-word report of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of Ashkhabad airport at which several workers were given honorary titles by the Turkmen SSR CP Central Committee first secretary, M. G. Gapurov. Gapurov congratulated the recipients and urged the Ashkhabad aviators to "strengthen the work tradition of the honored Turkmen management of civilian aviation, and to be in the front ranks in the battle for fulfillment and over-fulfillment of the targets of the current year and of the five-year plan as a whole." He also wished them a happy 50th anniversary of the formation of the Turkmen SSR and creation of the Turkmen CP and a happy 100th anniversary of the "voluntary union of Turkmenistan with Russia." Also present at the ceremony were the members of the Turkmen SSR CP Central Committee Buro P. Annaorazov, Ch. S. Karryev, M. G. Schmidt, M. A. Charyev, and candidate member S. A. Hiyazov.

CSO: 1830/591

REGIONAL

UKRAINIAN PAPER ESTABLISHES NEW YOUTH DEPARTMENT

[Editorial Report] Kiev RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 14 Jul 84 on page 1 introduces a new department of the newspaper, "Youth," which is to be "about young people and for young people." The introduction invites "young workers and scientists, engineers and machine operators, students and those attending technical schools and professional-technical schools, and members of the army and navy" to write the newspaper about their concerns, plans, dreams, friends, etc. A series of such letters follows on pages 1, 2 and 4. This initiative by the newspaper is a response to remarks on the importance of young people in the work force made by Chernenko in his speech at the All-Army Conference of Secretaries of Komsomol Organizations.

GAPUROV CHAIRS SESSION OF TURKMEN ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE

[Editorial Report] Ashkabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian on 24 July 1984 carried on page 1 a 50-word report of a meeting of the Anniversary Planning Committee which was chaired by the first secretary of the Turkmen SSR CP Central Committee, M. G. Gapurov. The meeting was convened to discuss preparations for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Turkmen SSR and the creation of the Turkmen CP, and the 100th anniversary of the "voluntary union of Turkmenistan with Russia."

An appropriate resolution was adopted on the question under consideration.

GAPUROV AT CHARDZHOU AWARDS CEREMONY

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian on 27 July 1984 carries on page 1 a 150-word report of an awards ceremony in Chardzhouskaya Oblast. Turkmen SSR CP CC First Secretary M. G. Gapurov gave awards to a large group of agricultural workers for "high indicators and labor prowess which were manifested in the fulfillment of plans and socialist obligations with respect to the improvement of productivity and sales of grain, cotton and other agricultural produce to the state in 1983."

Gapurov warmly congratulated those awarded and wished them health and new labor successes.

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